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INTRODUCTION

TO

ANARCHISM

ABSTRACT

The Anarchist International Information Service, i.e. the official IFA/IAF/AI web-site, presents the following information:

First, there is an introduction, explaining the logical structure of anarchism and the basic concepts and principles.

Anarchy and anarchism mean "system and management without ruler(s), i.e. co-operation without repression, tyranny and slavery".

The words anarchy and anarchism are a bit problematic. Sorry to say, anglophone languages are very much twisted in an Orwellian "1984" "newspeak" way, to fool the people via the education to worship authority, compared to Nordic language, say,

A. Rules, rule = regler, regel (relatively fixed ways to settle things in an orderly way, i.e. regulations and regulatory means); but also

B. Rules, rule = hersking, hersker, herske (to be an arch/ruler, act as an arch, bestiality).

Thus in English/American the words 'archein (Greek) = herske (Nordic)' is translated to B. "rule" = to be an arch etc., but "rule" also is used as A. 'regel' = "rule" (i.e. rule(s) in the meaning of relatively fixed way(s) to settle things, disputes and conflicts in an orderly way, i.e. regulations and regulatory means = regel/regler). And thus, due to using one word to mean two very different things, i.e. A. and B, the anglophones are forced in an authoritarian way to think very much false and wrong about realities, with respect to anarchy, freedom and authority, that the Scandinavian people are not to the same extent. See the point! Anglophones are very much fooled by the authorities in this way, thus you probably cannot easily think free, but like a slave via psychological ruling, to think authority = ruler is necessary to keep order. In Norwegian a situation "an (without) arch(y)" "uten hersker" may very well considered to be with 'regler' because "hersker" = rules, and "regler" = rules, are quite different words. This is very difficult to understand with an anglophone basis.

C. Furthermore the Greek word "an" is not meaning "without" in general, but just as "an" in anaerobe and similar words, i.e. "an" means without what is mentioned in the suffix, but keeping what is essential in the matter, i.e. management in the meaning of coordination related to anarchy. Thus the whole thing gets often mixed up in the anglophone sphere, the language falsely forcing people to think that rule and rulers are necessary to settle things in an orderly way.

D. To fix this linguistical/language problem in a simple way, we mainly use the word "rules" in the meaning of one or more rules, i.e. regulations and regulatory means, case A, and the words "rule" and "ruling" in case B, unless something else is mentioned. Thus, we define anarchy in the following way:

E. The word *anarchism* originates from the word *anarchy*, also an old Greek word. The original meaning, that everybody should stick to, is the following: The prefix "an" means "negation of", as in anaerobe vs aerobe, anandrous vs -androus, anhydride vs hydride, etc; i.e. "an" means without what is mentioned in the suffix, but keeping what is essential in the matter. The suffix "archy" means "rule (not rules or law), ruler, rulers, superior in contrast to subordinates, etc.", from Greek "archein", "to rule, to be first"; and "archos", "ruler" i.e. in a coercive, repressive, etc. manner, slavery and tyranny included. As mentioned "an" means without what is mentioned in the suffix, but keeping what is essential in the matter, i.e. in this case management in the meaning of coordination, but without ruling. The 'ruling' is not essential, but an evil alienation, i.e. bestiality. *Thus, anarchy means coordination and management without ruling and thus rulers.* [NB! Remember D. Anarchy and anarchism also of course have and use regulations and regulatory means when necessary and optimal.]

And thus anarchy means coordination, without rule from the bureaucracy broadly defined, the economical and/or political/administrative superiors in private and public sectors (in contrast to the people), down towards the bottom, i.e. in a coercive, repressive manner. b) and thus, "anarchy" is higher forms of economical and political/administrative democracy; 1. ideally, i.e. 100% anarchy; meaning 100% coordination on equal footing, without superiors and subordinates, horizontal organization, and co-operation without coercion, or 2. practically, significant i.e. more than 50% degree of anarchy, i.e. more horizontally than vertically organized, i.e. more influence on the societal management from the "bottom upwards", than from the bureaucracy, from "the top downwards to the bottom".

The bureaucracy organized as a ruling management, i.e. significant downwards to the people and the grassroots - and not just an insignificant tendency in this direction, is also called authority or authorities, the State as a social concept or in a societal perspective - as well as government. Thus anarchy is a way of organizing society where there is management and coordination without ruling and rulers, tyranny and slavery, i.e. the tendencies towards State, authority, authorities, government, bureaucracy and similar are insignificant or zero. The opposite of anarchy is different types of archies, i.e. ruling and rulers, authority, authorities, State in a societal perspective, government - economical and/or political/administrative. Archies may be mainly monarchy, oligarchy, polyarchy, ochlarchy (mob rule) and/or plutarchy.

F. *Anarchism* is political systems and organizations coordinated as anarchy in the above meaning and manner, but also the political tendency advocating anarchy understood this way, and the scientific knowledge about anarchy and the ways to reduce non-anarchist tendencies.

G. Briefly defined anarchy and anarchism are coordination on equal footing, without superiors and subordinates, i.e. horizontal organization and co-operation without coercion. This means practically or ideally, i.e. ordinary vs perfect horizontal organization respectively. Thus, anarchy and anarchism mean real democracy, economical and

political/administrative, in private and public sector. Thus, anarchy means coordination without government, in the meaning of different forms of vertically organized, i.e. chaotic included, economic and/or political-administrative relations among people, (and thus not without public sector). "Coercion" is defined as restraint, hindrance, compulsion and government by force, ruling, i.e. repression.

Say, two people stranded on an island may co-operate without coercion to survive, i.e. anarchy, or act as superior vs subordinates, i.e. hierarchy, government, and more or less chaos.

The concepts and different perspectives of anarchism are defined in real terms with

- the IFA-principles, the Economic-Political map, the Oslo-convention, efficiency and fairness, libertarian human rights, etc., and
- as **anarchy vs other -archies**,

Secondly, there is a separate page of the [Economic-Political Map](#), where anarchism is one of four main quadrants, and based on socialism, i.e. the negation of plutarchy (capitalism), and autonomy, i.e. the negation of statism. Furthermore, the other 3 quadrants represent liberalism, based on plutarchy without statism, fascism based on plutarchy with statism, and marxism based on statism without plutarchy. On this web-page the scientific method of anarchism is also discussed and explained, as well as the history of anarchist ideas, and the updated research front on anarchism. Some mathematical anarchism related to the EP-map, i.e. [The formula of anarchism](#), is also presented at a page.

Third, [The Oslo Convention](#) and updated news from the APT-branch of the [International Anarchist Tribunal](#) are among the pages. Information about the international Anarcoop bookshop, Anarchist University studies, IFA-IAF-AI, and other news and comments, are available by e-mail to ifa@anarchy.no. The [International Journal of Anarchism](#) may also be mentioned.

Fourth, the anarchist velvet revolution in Norway 1994 and beyond, is presented as an example of practical anarchism. The information is also based on anarchist class analysis, particularly the experiences and lessons of the Commune de Paris, the Russian revolution and the Spanish revolution...

The following introduction to the logical structure of anarchism has eleven chapters:

- [I.](#) Anarchy - the origin, anarchism defined and anarchist principles.
- [II.](#) Anarchist concepts and principles considered all in all - different aspects of autonomy and socialism.
- [III.](#) The geometry of anarchist economic-political mapping.
- [IV.](#) 4 quadrants and 16 sectors.
- [V.](#) The degree of democracy and the 16 sectors.
- [VI.](#) Libertarian vs authoritarian and anarchy vs chaos.
- [VII.](#) The left-right and the progressive-reactionary dimensions. Anarchism vs bureaucracy and state.
- [VIII.](#) The theorem of anarchism as the progressive middle in politics; social individualist anarchism - also called the third alternative, road and social form.
- [IX.](#) Common vs private property rights to the means of production.

X. Anarchy vs government, hierarchy and plutarchy.
XI. Practical anarchism: Spain 1936-39 and Norway 1994 and beyond.

INTRODUCTION TO ANARCHISM

THE LOGICAL STRUCTURE OF ANARCHISM

I. The word anarchy origins from greek. The prefix an means negation of, as in anaerobe vs aerobe; and arch means superior, i.e. in contrast to subordinates, as in archbishop (*et. f. gr. archos, archein; eng. arch, be arch; nor. erke, herske*).

- Thus: Anarchy, anarchism, anarchist, etc. are alternatives to, and the opposite of, different forms of superior and subordinate positions, non economic and economically: Political/administrative rank and economic/income hierarchies **broadly defined and in real terms** , i.e. respectively (1) statism and (2) capitalism.

- And thus: Anarchy, anarchism, anarchist a.s.o. mean coordination on equal footing, without superiors and subordinates, i.e. horizontal organization and co-operation without coercion. This means practically or ideally, i.e. ordinary vs perfect horizontal organization respectively.

- Thus: anarchy means without **government**, which is different forms of vertically organized, i.e. chaotic included, economic and/or political-administrative relations among people (and not always the same as public sector).

- And thus: The different perspectives of the concept of anarchy are defined

- as an updated social scientific research front based on the methodology of natural sciences, as suggested by Pjotr Kropotkin in his book "Modern Science and Anarchism" (1903-13) and confirmed on later anarchist congresses.

- as **anarchy vs other -archies**,

.- with the IFA-principles, the Economic-Political map, the Oslo-convention, efficiency and fairness, anarchist human rights, etc.,

Furthermore, these concepts should be considered in **real terms**, not formal or symbolic terms. Anarchists are interested in what **de facto** and **in reality**, are going on in society, not formal or symbolic values, government, rule and hierarchies. Symbolic and formal things and positions are only interesting to the extent they influence realities.

In the book "Modern Science and Anarchism" (1903-13) a.o.t. Peter Kropotkin declares - and gives the reason why - *anarchism is a sociological science broadly defined, including political economy, etc., and is defined as an updated research front of libertarian social scientific research, using the methods of modern natural sciences, i.e. mathematical relations, statistics etc.* Anarchism: "Its method of investigation is that of the exact natural sciences, by which every scientific conclusion must be verified... (using) ... the concrete language of natural sciences, -- so we proceed in dealing with the facts of social life... -- not by the dialectic method, but by the natural-scientific method, the method of induction and deduction... We had better give up using the sonorous words which only conceal the superficiality of our semi-learning. In their time the use of these words was, perhaps, unavoidable -- their application could never have been useful.. No

struggle can be successful if it is an unconscious one, and if it does not render itself a clear and concise account of its aim...

Perhaps we are wrong and they are right. But in order to ascertain who is right, it will not do either to quote this and that authority, to refer to Hegel's trilogy, or to argue by the "dialectic method." This question can be settled only by taking up the study of economic relations as facts of natural science. Without entering into further discussion of the principles of Anarchism and the Anarchist programme of action, enough has been said, I think, to show the place of Anarchism among the modern sociological sciences. Anarchism is an attempt to apply to the study of the human institutions the generalizations gained by means of the natural-scientific inductive method; and an attempt to foresee the future steps of mankind on the road to liberty, equality, and fraternity, with a view to realizing the greatest sum of happiness for every unit of human society. In Anarchism there is no room for those pseudo-scientific laws with which the German metaphysicians of the twenties and thirties had to content themselves. Anarchism does not recognize any method other than the natural-scientific.

This method it applies to all the so-called humanitarian sciences, and, availing itself of this method as well as of all researches which have recently been called forth by it, Anarchism endeavors to reconstruct all the sciences dealing with man, and to revise every current idea of right, justice, etc., on the bases which have served for the revision of all natural sciences. Whether or not Anarchism is right in its conclusions, will be shown by a scientific criticism of its bases and by the practical life of the future. But in one thing it is absolutely right: in that it has included the study of social institutions in the sphere of natural-scientific investigations; has forever parted company with metaphysics; and makes use of the method by which modern natural science were developed. Owing to this, the very mistakes which Anarchism may have made in its researches can be detected the more readily. But its conclusions can be verified only by the same natural-scientific, inductive-deductive method by which every science and every scientific concept of the universe is created."

This basic principle of Anarchism, per definition or seen as a methodological working hypothesis, is still valid and confirmed on all later anarchist congresses discussing this question in a scientific, matter of fact, way. This libertarian, scientific, way of thinking and research, praxeology i.e. human action research included, is the way to settle disputes, make action programs based on the anarchist principles in general, and develop anarchism further, - it is the basic methodological framework of anarchism and the Anarchist International. The other basic principles of anarchism are presented and discussed at (Click on) http://www.anarchy.no/a_e_p_m.html and via links of this web-site.

The most basic principles related directly to Kropotkin's definition of anarchy, anarchism and social sciences in general, as an updated research front, are the following:

(1) **Anarchies vs archies.** Societal, political-economical systems, including organizations and political tendencies; economical, political or politological, sociological and anthropological systems, may be anarchies or the negation of anarchy = archies. Thus the total amount of societal systems $S = \text{anarchy} + \text{archy} \Leftrightarrow S = \text{anarchies} + \text{archies}$. Anarchy = anarchism, with respect to societal systems broadly defined.

(2) **Archies** may be expressed as x-archy, where x is one of a set of systems characteristics of archs, say, (mon, olig, poly, plut, ochl, matri, patri, hier, etc; but not an) or a logical union of several x-es reflecting different forms of archy/archies as opposed to anarchy/anarchies, i.e. the negation of x-archy = archies.

(3) **Possibility of anarchy.** It is assumed that these terms reflect concepts that may be defined in a way that anarchy is not impossible in reality, i.e. the amount of anarchies in real terms is greater than the empty set, zero. Anarchy is matter of degree = tendency. Anarchy, i.e. an anarchist social system, may have 100% or a significant degree of anarchy, i.e. less than 100%, but above a given significant level.

(4) **Significant anarchist tendency = anarchy.** As anarchy is the negation of x-archy it may not have any amount, i.e. significant tendency towards or of x-archy. Thus anarchy may have zero or insignificant tendency towards or of archies. The significant level is defined on aggregated dimensions.

(5) **Dimensions:** a) There are an economic dimension and a non-economical dimension in societal, political-economical, system context: One aggregated economical, and one aggregated non-economical dimension, i.e. political/administrative rank broadly defined. Empirically this reflect economic remuneration and political/administrative rank of organizational social systems' maps broadly defined. b) The economical dimension measures socialism vs capitalism, where the degree of capitalism is the tendency towards or of economical archies (x-archy) and the non-economical dimension is autonomy vs statism, where the degree of statism is the tendency towards or of political/administrative archies. c) Along these two dimensions different forms of anarchy and archies (x-archy), are measured and mapped. The degree of socialism = 100% - degree of capitalism. The degree of autonomy = 100% - degree of statism. Socialism and autonomy are defined as insignificant degree of capitalism and statism respectively, and capitalism and statism is defined as significant degree of statism and capitalism respectively. Thus, socialism and autonomy are defined as significant degree of socialism and autonomy, and capitalism and statism are defined as insignificant degree of socialism and autonomy respectively .

(6) **Anarchism and other -isms.** Anarchy is the negation of archies related to the economical and political/administrative dimensions, i.e. socialism and autonomy. Capitalism is economical plutarchy, including hierarchy and may be other x-archies broadly defined in an economical context. Statism is

political/administrative monarchy, oligarchy, polyarchy, ochlarchy (mob rule), the archies of rivaling states within the state, i.e. chaos; and the tyranny of structurelessness i.e. disorganization, and/or political plutarchy, and it may also include other archies, say, being matriarchy, if the main rulers are women. Furthermore

1. Statism without plutarchy = marxism ((state-) communism, state-socialism);
2. statism plus plutarchy = fascism (populism included);
3. socialism without statism = anarchy = anarchism;
4. plutarchy without statism = liberalism.

Libertarian (in the meaning of 'libertaire' (french) or 'libertær' (nordic)), and real democracy (realdemocracy) are synonyms for anarchist, anarchy and anarchism. Anarchy and anarchism are sometimes called the third alternative, social form, or way. (This must not be mixed up with Tony Blair's non-anarchist "third way = neue mitte" of Gerard Schröder, or Adolf Hitler's "dritte reich".)

Archies (x-archy) are defined equal to authority and State in societal context. Thus authority and State in societal context are liberalism, fascism and marxism broadly defined. And thus anarchy and anarchism are systems without any authority and State, in societal context, i.e. economical and political/administrative, also called political broadly defined. (These societal, political concepts of state and authority, must not be mixed up with statism and the authoritarian degree, as defined related to economical-political mapping. Furthermore insignificant tendency towards or of State is not State, and insignificant tendency towards or of authority is not authority, but anarchy and anarchism. In anarchism hierarchy is usually defined as a) "the power or rule of a hierarch or hierarchs", in the meaning of economically or political/administrative rulers and ruling, i.e. economical and political/administrative hierarchy respectively, and/or b) such rule by priests or other clergy, church government, or c) the group of officials in such systems. However the word hierarchy in the today also usual meaning of d) "any group of persons or things arranged in order of rank, grade, class, etc." is also sometimes used, and e) thus also hierarchy in the meaning of any except a minimal tendency towards or of hierarchy defined as point a). Thus "significant hierarchy" in the meaning of e) is equal to hierarchy in the meaning of a). Anarchy is the negation of a) and ideal 100% anarchy is the negation of e) economically and political/administrative.)

(7) **Significant level at 50%.** Anarchy has less than 50% tendencies towards or of archies, x-archy, aggregated on the two relevant dimensions, on a scale from 0 => 100%. Thus more than 50 % tendencies towards or of archies, x-archy of relevant x-es, aggregated on the economic and/or the non-economic dimension, are not anarchist, not anarchy. Thus anarchy has 100-50% degree of socialism and 100-50% degree of autonomy, and archies have less of one or

both, i.e. more than 50% degree of capitalism and/or statism.

(8) **Anarchy defined:** Anarchy and anarchism mean system, coordination and management without ruling and rulers (not without rules). i.e. co-operation without repression, tyranny and slavery, and archies mean system, management and coordination with ruling and rulers, i.e. the negation of anarchy and anarchism. From greek 'an', as in anaerobe vs aerobe, i.e. keeping what is essential of the object, (in this case system, management, coordination) but without the special characteristic mentioned in the suffix, i.e. 'arch', ruling and ruler(s), from archos (ruler) and archein (ruling, being first).

(9) **Not totalitarian:** The question of anarchism and anarchy vs archies is limited to the societal political-economical systems' management and coordination. What is interesting in anarchist perspective is whether or not the economical-political system has authority, i.e. ruling and rulers - or not, with respect to the societal management and coordination. Other uses of the words anarchy vs x-archy and anarchies vs archies are principally irrelevant to anarchism, and should in general be avoided.

(10) **Not valid concepts.** Concepts as anarcho-archy = anarchy-x-archy in any form, meaning system, coordination and management "both with and without ruling and rulers" at the same time and place, are not allowed for, because such concepts are contradictive, and thus are nonsens and not logical and scientific, because this is in reality not possible, and anarchism and anarchy is about realities. Thus anarcho-marxism, anarcho-capitalism = anarchy-plutarchy, anarcho-ochlarchy, anarcho-chaos, anarchy = chaos, anarchism = anarchy = minimal state or libertarian state, state in general, anarcho-statism, anarcho-authority, etc, are nonsens and not valid concepts, but confused Orwellian "1984" "newspeak" that is not anarchist, but authoritarian, i.e. chaotic, and should be avoided.

In addition to these axioms and most basic principles of social sciences, anarchy and anarchism and other -isms, other principles of policy defining authority more precise and concrete in a societal context, structural and functional, performance included, must be introduced, and the significant level of anarchy vs archies must be calibrated for applied and practical research and analysis. This is a.o.t. discussed on the file (click on:) http://www.anarchy.no/a_e_p_m.html , search for 'calibration' and 'principles'.

1. The economical dimension - the percentage degree of socialism, i.e. the degree of economical freedom, solidarity and equality, etc. - in short economical democracy vs plutarchy, significant economical hierarchy (capitalism - theft, broadly defined). Democracy means, quite simplified, "one person - one vote", i.e. equal votes for all in the elections. Markets however mean "one dollar - one vote". Thus markets are only economically democratic, i.e. not plutarchical, as far as money or other means of payment, among other things, the purchasing powers, are significant equally distributed according to anarchist principles. And thus, markets are probably only anarchistical, i.e. real democratic, if they

are publicly regulated in a libertarian way, with free contracts - not slave contracts, etc. (See also point 3.)

2. The political/administrative dimension - the percentage degree of autonomy, i.e. the degree of political/administrative freedom, solidarity and equality, etc. in short political/administrative democracy vs vertically organized political/administrative systems, i.e. statism broadly defined, significant political/administrative hierarchy, monarchy, oligarchy, polyarchy and/or ochlarchy (mob rule) included, in both public and private sector.

3. If a economical plutarchy, i.e. the relatively rich, take over significant political/administrative hierarchy in public and private sector, a political/administrative plutarchy is introduced. This is a form of populism/fascism. If significant political/administrative hierarchy, say, a military junta, take over significant economical hierarchy in public and private sector, another form of fascism/populism is established. Any combination of statism combined with plutarchy (capitalism) is a form of fascism. The statism may take the form of monarchy, oligarchy, polyarchy and ochlarchy (mob rule, mafia, chaos, no human rights, no real law and order, real lawlessness, etc.) included, and principally also be based on political/administrative plutarchy, or combinations, in both public and private sector.

4. The IFA-principles, the Economic-Political map, the Oslo-convention, efficiency and fairness, anarchist human rights, etc.,

The basic principles of anarchism are: The negation of authority and all of its power, hierarchies and juridical laws. Freedom, equality, solidarity, social justice, free contract, free initiative, atheism, antimilitarism, internationalism, decentralism, autonomy and federalism, self management and libertarian communalism - from each according to ability - to each according to needs. The aim is more anarchist systems, i.e. a movement towards more human rights and the best of the ideals of the French revolution, fairness and efficiency, less rank and income differences. These concepts and principles should be considered all in all, not partially, and reflect **anarchist constitution** .

II. They reflect different aspects of autonomy broadly defined, and socialism, as negations of statism and capitalism respectively. The basic social dimensions, (1) statism vs autonomy and (2) capitalism vs socialism, have many aspects. Different perspectives, the feminist, environmental, intergenerational, subordinate positions due to lack of structure or organization, people on their knees or flat on their face because of drugs, etc.; are included in the concepts of rank and income broadly defined.

Thus: Freedom, i.e. free people, freedom without damaging the freedom of other people, i.e not to be a slave, and not to make others slave for you, but live by own work. Federalism without autonomy is not anarchist. Social justice means a) anarchist law and court systems, compatible with the negation of hierarchy, etc., i.e. alternatives to authoritarian juridical laws; and b) antimilitarist corps broadly defined, sufficiently strong to keep order and keep up the balances of strength, as well as stop militarism, intra- and internationally. Generally speaking, antimilitarism is not pacifism...

Religious and guru organizations are principally considered as special forms of (political)/administrative rank and economic hierarchies, i.e. mainly based on psychological power & ruling techniques, and non atheist ideology. Anarchism is not, and should not, be expanded towards a totalitarian system. Other kinds of hierarchies, say, in sports, games, etc., are, as long as it is fair play, mainly not relevant from anarchist perspective. Scientific validity is not a political/administrative rank question, and authority must not be mixed up with competence. This should not be forgotten in education & research, and economics & politics, broadly defined.

Practically speaking anarchy, anarchism, etc. are systems and human relations with relatively small economic and rank differences, i.e. more horizontally than vertically organized. However, the anarchist ideal at the top of the economic political map, i.e. with no such hierarchies at all, should not be forgotten as a leading star and standard for economic and political/administrative navigation. Say, *two people stranded on an island, may co-operate without coercion to survive, i.e. anarchy, or act as superior vs subordinate, i.e. hierarchy and more or less chaos... To be anarch, or to be an arch, that is the question...* "An arch" in this context may be interpreted as both a ruler or to be ruled, bow, i.e. an arch in the Latin meaning. Elsewhere we stick to the Greek version.

III. The geometry of economic political mapping, i.e. the [EP-map](#), is illustrated on fig.1 (click on EP-map). Assuming two basic orthogonal dimensions, the political, i.e. statism vs autonomism, and the economical, i.e. socialism vs capitalism, we identify four main economic-political forms. Thus, there are two basic dimensions for a system's coordinates:

(1) A system may be wholly [1 = 100%] autonomous, wholly statist, or somewhere between;

(2) A system may be wholly [1 = 100%] socialist, wholly capitalist, or somewhere between.

The four corners: A wholly autonomous and socialist system is wholly anarchist, and located at the top of the map. A wholly statist and capitalist system is wholly authoritarian [fascist], i.e. located at the bottom of the map, where the authoritarian degree, the relative distance from the top of the map, is 100%.

A wholly autonomous & capitalist system is located at the right corner [liberalism]. A wholly statist & socialist system is located at the left corner [marxism]. The four edges: Wholly autonomous systems are located at the upper right edge, i.e. the autonomous edge. Wholly statist systems are located at the bottom left edge, i.e. the statist edge. Wholly socialist systems are located at the upper left edge, i.e. the socialist edge. Wholly capitalist systems are located at the bottom right edge, i.e. the capitalist edge. A wholly statist system is zero autonomous, and vice versa. A wholly capitalist system is zero socialist, and vice versa.

IV. The two borderlines and four quadrants: Half [$1/2 = 50\%$] autonomous systems are located at the autonomous borderline, i.e. the parallel in the middle between the autonomous edge and the statist edge. All systems between the autonomous borderline and the autonomous edge are autonomous, i.e. significant. Other systems are statist. Half [$1/2 = 50\%$] socialist systems are located at the socialist borderline, i.e. the parallel in the middle between the

socialist edge and the capitalist. Systems between the socialist borderline and the socialist edge are socialist, i.e. significant. Other systems are capitalist.

The two borderlines divide the map in four quadrants:

(Top) Anarchism, i.e. socialism and autonomy;

(Left) Marxism, i.e. socialism and statism;

(Right) Liberalism, i.e. capitalism and autonomy;

(Bottom) Fascism, i.e. capitalism and statism.

The four quadrants are divided in four sectors each, i.e. each of the main economic-political forms, 1. anarchism, 2. marxism, 3. fascism and 4. liberalism, illustrated by the four quadrants on the map, are divided into four subsections, called sectors, along the same dimensions.

V. The map indicates the degree of democracy concerning both the economic and the political/administrative dimension, taking into account the 16 subsections of the four main quadrants:

1. The anarchist ideal at the top of the map, with individualist anarchism to the right, collectivist anarchism to the left, and social individualist anarchism close to the middle of the map.

2. Marxist semi-libertarian collectivism close to the anarchist left; social democracy close to the middle, and the more statist, authoritarian and chaotic left-socialism and leninism (State communism) on the left and down.

3. Liberalism, i.e. social liberalism is close to the middle of the map, and semilibertarian individualism is close to the right corner of the anarchist quadrant. Conservatism, i.e. not social or liberal, and the extreme right are authoritarian and more or less chaotic.

4. Left, right and ultra fascism (nazism and other very chaotic tendencies) are found at the bottom of the map, with populism close to the middle. The populist sector (as the others) may be divided in a left, general, and right tendency.

VI. Another important dimension is the libertarian vs authoritarian, the 'altitude' of the map stated by the authoritarian degree, AUT%. Furthermore $100\% - \text{AUT}\%$ gives the libertarian or anarchist degree. Assuming that the degree of statism and capitalism contributes symmetrically to the authoritarian degree, the contour intervals are indicated by the distance from the anarchist ideal, the top of the map. The semi-libertarian and libertarian area of the map, are above the circle segment of 50% authoritarian degree. The area below 50% authoritarian degree is significantly authoritarian.

Anarchy is the highest form of social order, thus the erroneous statement "chaotic anarchy" is similar to "chaotic order" = "chaotic non-chaotic", i.e. a contradiction and meaningless. A system or society cannot at the same time be both anarchist and non-anarchist, i.e. chaotic. If a system is chaotic, it is not found in the anarchist quadrant on the EP map, but left, down or right. Anarchist policy is typically consistent, flexible, but not opportunistic, related to principles; while authoritarian policy typically is chaotic, opportunistic, conglomerate aggregates. Economic-political power corrupts, and total power corrupts absolutely. Conflicts among "states within the state", and olig- and other archical corruption, repression, coercion and other chaotic behavior, i.e. mutually included, are well known. Chaos is typically found at more than 67% authoritarian degree below zero, i.e. basically totalitarian systems. Don't forget the Oslo convention about anarchy vs chaos.

The degree of anarchy is 100% minus the authoritarian degree, i.e. within the anarchist quadrant. Systems with authoritarian degree less than 50% outside the anarchist quadrant are semi-libertarian, i.e. not significant authoritarian, but not anarchist. **Thus, mixed concepts as anarcho-capitalism, liberalism, marxism, populism, statism, chaos, authoritarian, totalitarian, etc. are all contradictions, inconsistent and meaningless.** A system's coordinates cannot practically be located in two or more quadrants of the map at the same time. A system's coordinates reflect the system seen all in all, i.e. what is significant.

An example of a chaotic, and thus **not valid** proposed "definition" of anarchy, is the following: *"Anarchy means without ruler or any form of centralized, coercive government."* In real terms this definition excludes monarchy, but does not rule out decentralized forms of plutarchy (capitalism), oligarchy (majority or minority dictatorship), hierarchy (significant rank or economic differences, or government by guru/priests), polyarchy (government by many persons, of whatever order or class; opposed to monarchy) and ochlarchy (mob rule) from the concept of anarchy, and thus is contradictory. A definition of anarchy which does not exclude plutarchy, hierarchy, oligarchy, polyarchy and ochlarchy in a proper way, is of course not valid, and thus wrong similar to Orwellian "1984-newspeak" or a definition of $2+2 = 3$ or 4 or 5 , which does contradict reality for all known things as we know them, because no thing doubles itself or disappears by itself arbitrary at the same moment, in reality. And thus $2+2=4$, and nothing else. $2+2=3$ or $2+2=5$ is wrong. Magic and contradictions are fraud or virtual reality, not reality, as far as we know it today. By the way, so called chaos-theory is wrongly called so, because it is not really chaotic and contradictory, but express a form of natural order and is quite simple to explain mathematically... although somewhat more complicated than the formula of anarchy.

VII. The left-right dimension of the economic-political map goes from 100% statism and socialism on the left wing, to 100% capitalism and autonomism on the right. The extreme left and right sectors (subsystems) are usually associated with a typical ideal state-socialist planning system (brown&red statism) and a typical perfect competitive market system (autonomous plutarchy, blue&brown capitalism) respectively. The progressive-reactionary dimension is orthogonal to the left-right dimension. This axis goes from 100% socialism and autonomism as the most progressive, to 100% capitalism and statism as the most reactionary.

Society is public sector plus private sector. This mix is a question of convenience, and public sector should not be mixed up with the concept of government, i.e. vertically organized. Grassroots public service workers are not a part of the bureaucracy/government. The two sectors may be more or less horizontally vs vertically organized, i.e. relatively small vs large rank and/or income differences. There are an economic dimension, i.e. income (remuneration), and a non economic dimension, constituting rank. Although income often follows rank, it is not necessarily so. Economic political systems may be based on:

1. Small income differences [= socialism] vs large [= capitalism]; and
2. Small rank differences [=autonomy] vs large [= statism].

Thus, there are four main forms of systems and 16 subsystems.

Anarchists have discussed and suggested ideals and principles as a leading star (top of map), and anarchism is economic-political systems more socialist than capitalist, and more autonomous than statist, i.e. relatively small income and rank differences. **The superiors in rank and/or income in private and public sectors are for simplicity called the bureaucracy.** The people are the total population minus the bureaucracy.

The state, defined as a social concept, that's just the bureaucracy. However, **the political/administrative state, i.e. the part of the bureaucracy with subordinates in rank in their occupation** (in private and public sector). This **is the typical concept of state in anarchist science.** Differences in rank constitute the degree of statism, see EP map. In this case the economic dimension of the hierarchy is left to the concept of capitalism. Furthermore, this anarchist concept of state, the "ranks above the grassroots", i.e. the system with superior and subordinate positions, must not be mixed up with the nonscientific "1984-newspeak" concept, interpreted as both: 1. the country as a whole, which usually is a much too wide concept, and 2. the often too narrow view of the state as the federal or central public administration. By the way, any land needs coordination on country level, in some cases, say, by referendum.

VIII. The media discuss political mapping, but sometimes a bit confused, because of lack of logical, scientific structure. This may reflect a lack of structure in political science, due to an empirical, and sometimes party political, approach. Anarchist analysis and research are based on a nomothetical approach as conceptual framework, and thus a more logical structure, illustrated by the economic political map.

To understand the nature of economic political systems, theoretical and empirical, the following is an important theorem:

(1) If a system moves rightwards from the upper, i.e. advanced, part of the socialdemocrat sector, the system reaches the anarchist sector of social individualism.

(2) And if it moves sufficient further right, it reaches the social liberal sector.

(3) Thus, such an anarchist system is found in the middle between an advanced social democrat system and a social liberal.

Anarchism is typically found in the middle, and not, say far left or right. The above mentioned type of anarchy is not the ideal form with a degree of anarchy = 100%, at the top of the map. But still it is significant. To put it simple, anarchism is freedom without harming other peoples freedom, not freedom at others expense, economic and political broadly defined.

This resolution should also be seen in the context of earlier AIT & ANORG-IFA material. A further movement upwards on the EP map, i.e. 1) even more socialism & autonomy, coordinate & self managed people, efficiency & fairness; and 2) less income & rank differences, subordinate & superior positions; is requested and strongly recommended.

IX. The idea of socialism vs capitalism as "common vs private property right to the means of production" must not be superficially interpreted. Private property right to the means of production means exclusive rights to dominate others economically, a system with large income differences, based on privileges or so called free, capitalist markets, i.e. plutarchy, and thus not anarchy or anarchist.

Common or collective property right to the means of production is the negation of this, i.e. a system with small income differences.

Thus, common property right to the means of production must not be mixed up with public sector, since it may include cooperatives, markets, private possession, self employed and private sector enterprise in general, i.e. if regulated compatible with small income differences. On the other hand, public sector may sometimes have a rich bureaucracy with exclusive rights as mentioned above, and thus be capitalist. A similar notion is valid for the degree of statism vs autonomy. The most important is the over all economic political balances of strength, not the private vs public sector & plan vs market mix.

X. Anarchy means without government, which is anything that is not anarchy related to the economic political map, i.e. marxism, liberalism or fascism: Different forms of vertically organized, i.e. chaotic included, economic and/or political-administrative relations among people. Anarchist systems and human relations are found in the main quadrant of anarchism on the map, and different forms of government systems are located in the main quadrants of marxism, fascism or liberalism.

Anarchist systems may be more or less close to the anarchist ideal at the top of the map, i.e. without government at 100% or somewhat less degree of anarchy, i.e. within the anarchist quadrant. Furthermore, it reflects being without hierarchy in the meaning of large rank and/or income differences, practically or ideally, i.e. ordinary vs perfect horizontal organization respectively.

The economic and the political/administrative coordinate should ideally be estimated in the best way, reflecting all relevant facts, aggregated in the most relevant way: 1. An estimate of economic democracy vs capitalism (plutarchy), and

2. political/administrative democracy vs statism.

XI. Practical examples of anarchist societies:

As examples of relatively anarchist societies on a larger scale, the situation in a part of Spain during the civil war 1936-39 (anarcho-syndicalism, collectivist anarchism), and in Norway after 1994 (social individualist anarchism, the third alternative and social form), may be mentioned. Here we will concentrate on the modern times in stead of worshipping the past. The history of the Anarchy of Norway with updated news and comments is presented at (click): [Anarchism in Norway](#) .

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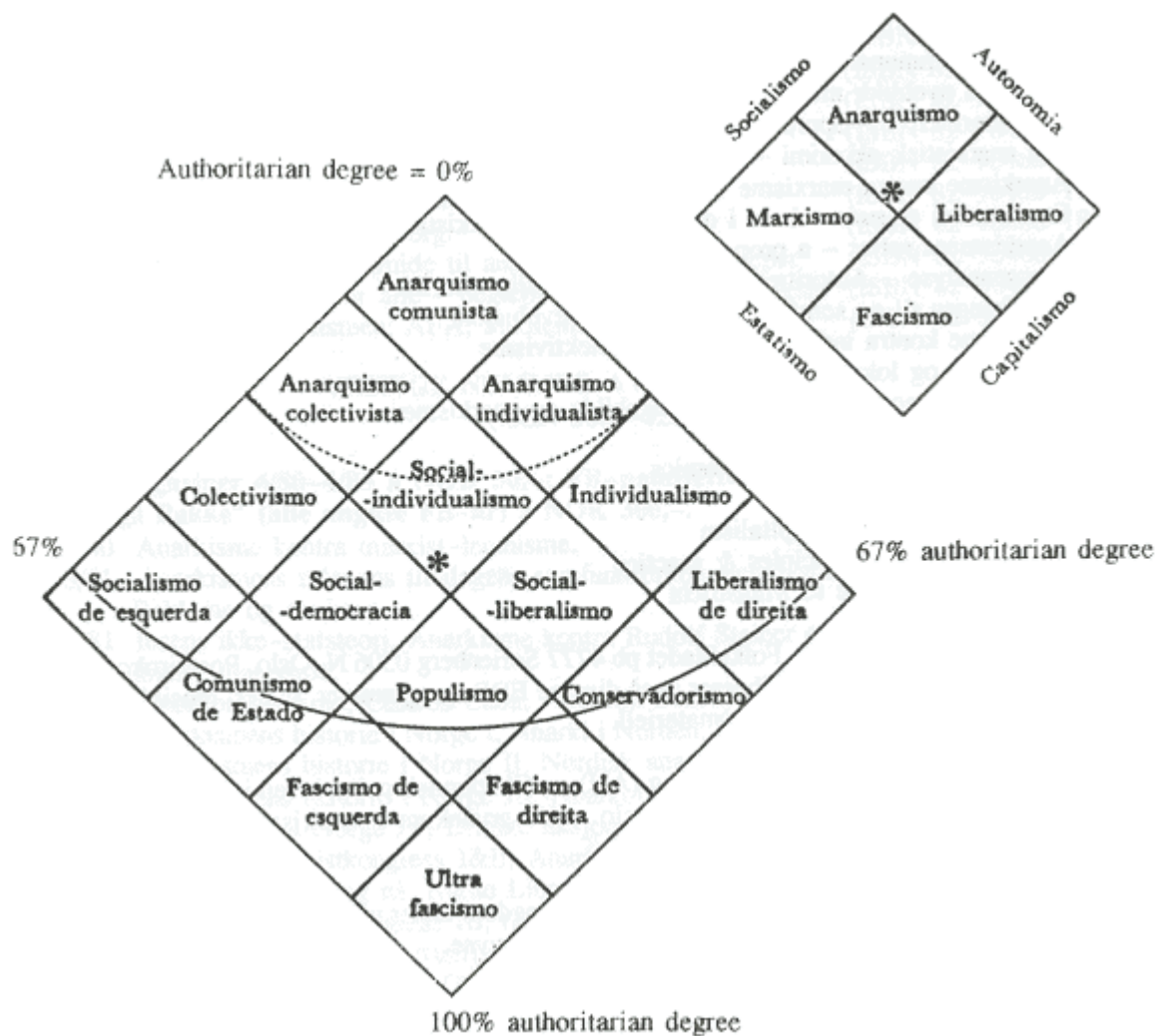
ANARCHISM ON THE POLITICAL MAP

The Anarchist Economical-Political Map

The System Theory of Anarchist Political Economy and Social Organization Research

Anarchy and anarchism mean "system and management without ruler(s), i.e. co-operation without repression, tyranny and slavery".





*) The stars indicate the position of the Norwegian economical-political system after the revolutionary change in 1994/95.

Fig. 1. Picture of the Anarchist Economical-Political Map

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D. MORE ABOUT THE CONCEPTS AND WORDS USED IN THIS CONTEXT

I. SUMMARY

Anarchy and anarchism mean "system and management without ruler(s), i.e. co-operation without repression, tyranny and slavery". The words anarchy and anarchism are a bit problematic. Sorry to say, anglophone languages are very much twisted in an Orwellian "1984" "newspeak" way, to fool the people via the education to worship authority, compared to Nordic language, say,

A. Rules, rule = regler, regel (relatively fixed ways to settle things in an orderly way, i.e. regulations and regulatory means); but also, --

B. Rules, rule = hersking, hersker, herske (to be an arch/ruler, act as an arch, bestiality).

Thus in English/American the words 'archein (Greek) = herske (Nordic)' is translated to B. "rule" = to be an arch etc., but "rule" also is used as A. 'regel' = "rule" (i.e. rule(s) in the meaning of relatively fixed way(s) to settle things, disputes and conflicts in an orderly way, i.e. regulations and regulatory means = regel/regler). And thus, due to using one word to mean two very different things, i.e. A. and B, the anglophones are forced in an authoritarian way to think very much false and wrong about realities, with respect to anarchy, freedom and authority, that the Scandinavian people are not to the same extent. See the point! Anglophones are very much fooled by the authorities in this way, thus you probably cannot easily think free, but like a slave via psychological ruling, to think authority = ruler is necessary to keep order. In Norwegian a situation "an (without) arch(y)" "uten hersker" may very well be considered to be with 'regler' because "hersker" = rules, and "regler" = rules, are quite different words. This is very difficult to understand with an anglophone basis.

C. Furthermore the Greek word "an" is not meaning "without" in general, but just as "an" in anaerobe and similar words, i.e. "an" means without what is mentioned in the suffix, but keeping what is essential in the matter, i.e. management in the meaning of coordination related to anarchy.

Thus the whole thing gets often mixed up in the anglophone sphere, the language falsely forcing people to think that rule and rulers are necessary to settle things in an orderly way.

D. To fix this linguistical/language problem in a simple way, we mainly use the word "rules" in the meaning of one or more rules in case A, and the words "rule" and "ruling" in case B, unless something else is mentioned. We will now present a brief definition of anarchy:

The word "anarchy" originates from Greek. The original meaning, that everybody should stick to, is the following: The prefix "an" means "negation of", as in anaerobe vs aerobe, anandrous vs -androus, anhydride vs hydride, etc; i.e. "an" means *without* what is mentioned in the suffix, but *keeping* what is essential in the matter. The suffix "archy" means "rule (not rules or law), ruler, rulers, superior in contrast to subordinates, etc.", from Greek "archein", "to rule, to be first"; and "archos", "ruler" i.e. in a coercive, repressive, etc. manner, slavery and

tyranny included. As mentioned "an" means without what is mentioned in the suffix, but keeping what is essential in the matter, i.e. *in this case management in the meaning of coordination, but without ruling*. The 'ruling' is not essential, but an evil alienation, i.e. bestiality. Thus "Anarchy" *doesn't* mean "without coordination, management, administration, etc.". Anarchy is management, coordination and administration etc. without ruling and thus without rulers. [Remember D. Anarchy and anarchism also of course have and use regulations and regulatory means when necessary and optimal.]

And thus anarchy means a) coordination, without rule from the bureaucracy broadly defined, the economical and/or political/administrative superiors in private and public sectors (in contrast to the people), downwards to the bottom, i.e. in a coercive manner. b) Thus, anarchy is higher forms of economical and political/administrative democracy; 1. ideally, i.e. 100% anarchy; meaning 100% coordination on equal footing, **without superiors and subordinates**, horizontal organization, and co-operation without coercion, or 2. practically, significant i.e. more than 50% degree of anarchy, i.e. more horizontally than vertically organized, i.e. more influence on the societal management from the "bottom upwards", than from the bureaucracy, from "the top downwards to the bottom".

The bureaucracy organized as a ruling management , i.e. significant downwards to the people and the grassroots - and not just an insignificant tendency in this direction, is also called authority or authorities, the State as a social concept or in a societal perspective - as well as government. Thus anarchy is a way of organizing society where there is management and coordination without ruling and rulers, tyranny and slavery, i.e. the tendencies towards State, authority, authorities, government, bureaucracy and similar are insignificant or zero. The opposite of anarchy is different types of archies, i.e. ruling and rulers, authority, authorities, State in a societal perspective, government - economical and/or political/administrative. Archies may be mainly monarchy, oligarchy, polyarchy, ochlarchy (mob rule) and/or plutarchy.

Thus, the State, administration of State, government, authority/ies, a.s.o. must not be mixed up with public sector, services and utilities, central/confederal/federal or municipal included, 'res publica', as the negation of the private sector and sphere, because State, government etc in this context are about special forms of organization (or disorganization), i.e. all systems where the influence on the societal management and coordination goes mainly from the top towards the bottom, slavery and tyranny - chaotic included. Thus public sector, services and utilities, central/confederal/federal or municipal included, organized significant horizontally, are anarchist - and thus not the State, authority/ies etc. or a part of it. The concept of 'central' is here referring mainly to general matters, things concerning the whole country or all of the citizens, and must not be mixed up with centralist, centralism or centralization, the negation of decentralist, decentralism and decentralization.

Anarchism is political systems and organizations coordinated as anarchy in the above meaning and manner, but also the political tendency advocating anarchy

understood this way, and the scientific knowledge about anarchy and the ways to reduce non-anarchist tendencies.

Briefly defined anarchy and anarchism are coordination on equal footing, without superiors and subordinates, i.e. horizontal organization and cooperation without coercion. This means practically or ideally, i.e. ordinary vs perfect horizontal organization respectively. Thus, anarchy and anarchism mean **real democracy**, economical and political/administrative, in private and public sector.

And thus, anarchy means coordination without government, in the meaning of different forms of **vertically organized**, i.e. chaotic included, economic and/or political-administrative relations among people, (and thus not without public sector). "Coercion" is defined as restraint, hindrance, compulsion and government by force, ruling, i.e. **repression**, etc.

A social, economic-political system with free and fair elections of mandated representatives or delegates, usually called democracy, may function more from the top downwards, significant vertically organized, centralist or the opposite, from the bottom upwards, significant horizontally organized, federalist, i.e. anarchy. Thus all anarchies are democracies but everything called democracy is not necessarily anarchist or anarchy. Many so called representative democracies may work more from the top downwards than the opposite, from the bottom upwards, and thus are not real democracies, anarchies, but archies. Thus anarchy is always democracy but not all democracies are anarchist, i.e. some democracies are archies, anarchy is as mentioned real democracy. Anarchy is just a minor part of, a subset of, the total amount of democracy, because not all democracies are anarchies, real democratic. A lot of conditions must usually be fulfilled to secure that a democracy is a real democracy, i.e. anarchy. A lot of people's organizations broadly defined, a free press, i.e. not the 4th power of the State, dialog and free, matter of fact, criticism, all organized significantly according to anarchist principles, are necessities. The existence of a sufficient amount of real alternatives, and a general balance of strength, significant stopping power in the meaning of domination, economical and political/administrative in public and private sectors, may also be mentioned.

A real scientific, i.e. a non-dogmatic anarchist way of thinking, as opposed to populist/fascist and relativist, marxist dialectical and liberalist more or less metaphysical way of thinking, is another important thing. By real scientific, we mean using the natural scientific method broadly defined, thinking principally and that hypothesis may be rejected, also taking into account realistic future scenarios related to different alternatives and actions, costs and benefits. Thus thinking, say, if this and that are the conditions, and these are the alternative actions, what are the probable alternative outcomes, - and then decide what actions are best, real democratic i.e. **what is in the interest of the less beneficial majority of the population**, the **people** vs the authorities and upper classes. "Best arguments win" and to get "competence effectively and fair through in the system" are benchmarks in this context. An efficient and fair dialog in **the public room**, as indicated with free and matter of fact criticism, working horizontally and/or from the bottom, the people and grassroots - upwards - is a must. To criticize the present proposals and situations **without** having a clearly better **realistic alternative**, is quite useless. For higher

degrees of anarchy, usually different forms of co-operatives and federalist direct democracy organized according to anarchist principles are important parts of the economic-political system.

The concepts and different perspectives of anarchism are defined in **real terms** with the Economic-Political map, the IFA-principles and human rights, the Oslo-Convention, etc., and as **anarchy vs other -archies, - i.e.**

In anarchism hierarchy is usually defined as a) "the power or rule of a hierarchy or hierarchies", in the meaning of economically or political/administrative rulers and ruling, i.e. economical and political/administrative hierarchy respectively, and/or b) such rule by priests or other clergy, church government, or c) the group of officials in such systems. However the word hierarchy in the today also usual meaning of d) "any group of persons or things arranged in order of rank, grade, class, etc." is also sometimes used, and e) thus also hierarchy in the meaning of any tendency towards or of hierarchy defined as point a). Thus "significant hierarchy" in the meaning of e) is equal to hierarchy in the meaning of a). Anarchy is the negation of a) and ideal 100% anarchy is the negation of e) economically and political/administrative.

1. The economical dimension - the percentage degree of socialism, i.e. the degree of economical freedom, solidarity and equality, etc. - in short economical *democracy vs plutarchy*, significant **economical hierarchy** (capitalism - theft, broadly defined). Democracy means, quite simplified, "one person - one vote", i.e. equal votes for all in the elections. Markets however mean "one dollar - one vote". Thus markets are only economically democratic, i.e. not plutarchical, as far as money or other means of payment, among other things, the purchasing powers, are significant equally distributed according to anarchist principles. And thus, markets are probably only anarchistical, i.e. real democratic, if they are publicly regulated in a libertarian way, with free contracts - not slave contracts, etc. (See also point 3.)

2. The political/administrative dimension - the percentage degree of autonomy, i.e. the degree of political/administrative freedom, solidarity and equality, etc. in short political/administrative democracy vs vertically organized political/administrative systems, i.e. **statism** broadly defined, significant **political/administrative hierarchy, monarchy, oligarchy, polyarchy and/or ochlarchy** (mob rule) included, in both public and private sector.

3. If a economical plutarchy, i.e. the relatively rich, take over significant political/administrative hierarchy in public and private sector, a *political/administrative plutarchy* is introduced. This is a form of populism/fascism. If significant political/administrative hierarchy, say, a military junta, take over significant economical hierarchy in public and private sector, another form of fascism/populism is established. Any combination of statism combined with plutarchy (capitalism) is a form of fascism. The statism may take the form of monarchy, oligarchy, polyarchy and ochlarchy (mob rule, mafia, chaos, no human rights, no real law and order, real lawlessness, etc.) included, and principally also be based on political/administrative plutarchy, or combinations, in both public and private sector.

As mentioned, these concepts should be considered in **real terms**, not formal or symbolic terms. Anarchists are interested in what **de facto** and **in reality**, are going on in society, not formal or symbolic values, government, rule and

hierarchies. Symbolic and formal things and positions are only interesting to the extent they influence realities.

The word libertarian(s) (libertaire, freiheitliches, frihetlig) is used synonymously with anarchy, anarchist(s) and anarchism, unless otherways defined.

Society is public sector plus private sector. This mix is a question of convenience (dependent on fulfilment of other principles, not one in itself), and public sector should not be mixed up with the concept of government, i.e. **vertically organized**. Grassroots public service workers are not a part of the bureaucracy/government. The two sectors may be more or less horizontally vs vertically organized, i.e. relatively small vs large rank and/or income differences, etc.

There are as indicated above an economic dimension, i.e. income (remuneration), and a noneconomic dimension, i.e. the political\administrative, constituting rank.

Although income often follows rank, it is not necessarily so. Economic-political systems may be based on:

1. Small income differences [=socialism] vs large [= capitalism]; and
2. Small rank differences [=autonomy] vs large [= statism].

Thus, there are four main forms of systems and $4 \times 4 = 16$ subsystems. Anarchists have discussed and suggested ideals and principles as a leading star (top of the Economic-Political map), and anarchism is economic political systems more socialist than capitalist, and more autonomous than statist, i.e. relatively small income and rank differences.

The superiors in rank and/or income in private and public sectors are for simplicity called the bureaucracy. The people are the total population minus the bureaucracy. The state, defined as a social concept, that's just the bureaucracy. However, the political/administrative state, i.e. the part of the bureaucracy with subordinates in rank in their occupation (in private and public sector). This is the typical concept of state in anarchist science, i.e. in the meaning of **statism**. Differences in rank constitute the **degree of statism**. In this case the economic dimension of the hierarchy is left to the concept of capitalism, i.e. plutarchy.

It is important to understand that the word state related to anarchism is used about two different concepts: 1. the state as a general social or societal organizational concept, i.e. significant economical and/or political administrative hierarchy, and 2. the state as a purely political/administrative concept, statism, i.e. significant political/administrative hierarchy. Both these concepts is relevant for private as well as public sector, activities, services and enterprises. Thus, principally, as indicated above, the concepts of state related to anarchism, must not be mixed up with the concept of State defined as 3. central/federal/confederal public sector, or 4. the whole country, nation, society or system. Anarchism and anarchists are principally opposed to, and want alternatives to the state in the meaning of 1. and 2., but not opposed to the State in the meaning of 3. and 4., and this must principally never be mixed up.

However the anarchist principle of decentralization indicates that the bulk of public activities should be related to the communes, not a central/federal/confederal body. But taking all anarchist principles into account it will in general not be optimal to only have communal public sector, i.e. no central/federal/confederal public organization. However the

central/federal/confederal public enterprises and decision organs may very well be spread to local communes all over the countries, say, a confederal decision may be taken by referendum or general consent in all the communes, and not necessarily located to a delegated council in the capital city (perhaps a capital city is not even necessary.)

Anarchism is one of four main quadrants of the economic-political map, and economically based on socialism, i.e. the negation of plutarchy (capitalism), and political/administratively based on autonomy, i.e. the negation of statism. Furthermore, the other 3 quadrants represent liberalism, based on plutarchy without statism, fascism based on plutarchy with statism, and marxism based on statism without plutarchy.

The map indicates the degree of democracy concerning both the economic and the political/administrative dimensions, taking into account the 16 subsections, i.e. sectors, of the main quadrants:

1. The anarchist ideal at the top of the map, with individualist anarchism to the right, collectivist anarchism to the left, and social individualist anarchism close to the middle of the map.
2. Marxist collectivism close to the anarchist left; social democracy close to the middle, and the more statist and authoritarian socialist left and state communism (leninism) located at the left corner and down, close to fascism, respectively. A large part of marxist collectivism and a part of the social democratic sector, are semilibertarian, i.e. not significant authoritarian degree, but too statist to be anarchistic.
3. Left, right and ultra fascism (nazism and other very chaotic tendencies) are found at the bottom of the map, with left and right populism above towards the middle.
4. Liberalism, i.e. conservatism and the extreme right are authoritarian; social liberalism is close to the middle of the map, and individualism is close to the right corner of the anarchist quadrant. A part of the social liberal sector, and a large part of individualism are semi-libertarian, i.e. not significant authoritarian degree, but too capitalistic to be anarchist.

The closer to the anarchist ideal, the more democratic is the economic-political system.

The midpoint of the map is defined as the turningpoint where **the influence** on the societal management and coordination seen all in all, aggregated, **shifts** from a) more from the bottom, the people, and upwards - than from the top downwards to the bottom, i.e. **fifty - fifty**, economical and politica/administrative, to b) the opposite - more from the top - the authorities, towards the bottom - the grassroots, economical and/or political/administrative.

In other words the midpoint is a point of the map where the different forms of anarchies with respect to social organization turns over (revolts) to anarchy. Societies, organizations and social systems may shift coordinates related to the map in jumps, small jumps, steps or small steps. But any significant shift of coordinates is in reality a revolution, as reforms principally are just changes within a given system, i.e. with the same system-coordinates. A significant shift of system-coordinates may be soft as velvet, a velvet revolution,

or more dramatic. Passing a border of the anarchist quadrant is in all cases a significant shift, and thus revolutionary, a small or big revolution.

Although theoretically and principally a certain and simple two-dimensional vector-figure may express a systems coordinates, described as a fixed, certain point on the map at a given time, practical mapping and data may be stocastical and influenced by the methods of aggregation. Thus a system's or society's coordinates on the map, may practically be noted just as a most likely figure and/or given by a confidence area that covers the real point on the map by some given probability. And thus, close to the borders of the anarchist quadrant, the real nature of the system, whether it is anarchist or not, may be discussed, and just a most likely, not certain, conclusion may be the result of an investigation, i.e. mapping of a social system. Similar problems of course may occur related to map in general.

The definition of the middlepoint is an independent axiom or assumption, related to the map, defining principally what is real democracy, i.e. identical to anarchy in an objectively way related to the de facto **circulation** of the influence on the management and coordination of a system or society from the people's perspective. It is however also possible to calibrate the map in more subjective ways. Say, a person 'allergic' to authority may subjectively think the above defined middle point has significant authoritarian degree, say, being fascist ("the Sex Pistols punk perspective"), and thus implicitly placing the fifty-fifty case in the fascis/populist quadrant on the map, setting a subjective higher standard for the definition of democracy. The opposite tendency, where an undemocratic system is thought of as real democratic, and thus in reality placing the fifty-fifty case definition above the middlepoint of the map, is also possible. The objective definition, based on the fifty-fifty influence case, is however also a politically based axiom, and thus in a way subjective or arbitrary or conventionally based, but not based on subjective impressions, it is a more politically neutral or balanced definition, related to the flow or circulation of the influence on the management from the people's perspective, whether this flow or circulation de facto mainly is in the favour of the people vs the authorities. Thus, it is objective in a neutral or matter of fact politically oriented way, related to the real meaning of the word democracy, not objective in a non-political way

Thus the E.P. map is seen in itself a more general theory, opening for subjective calibrations, than the map with the above mentioned objective calibration axiom or condition.

This opportunity opens for several interesting discussions and research. Say, if we ask the whole population, or the people (as opposed to the authorities), or the authorities, or other groups/strata, in a society, whether they think the society is real democratic defined in different ways, we may get subjective or intersubjective estimates of the position of the system, while the objective situation is something else. If we ask whether the system is socialist and autonomous, etc. we may get other estimates, a.s.o., and thus investigate how subjective impressions of the system differs from or are inconsistent with the objective situation, measured in a reasonable way, etc. Thus, using different calibrations of the map related to different investigations, we may analyse such things as alienated subjective misperceptions of the systems coordinates and

place on the map more generally. We may also introduce some interesting questions about democracy and real democracy in general, say, if a majority of the population subjectively express that the system is real democratic, and objectively it is not, there is obviously a problem.

Results indicating another other way around may also be problematic. If different groups or strata have different subjective opinions about the system coordinates, it may also rise a question related to how democratic the system is, etc. We will not discuss these problems on a full scale here, but they are very interesting, and should be investigated more. However the measurement of the objective situation, i.e. the real coordinates of the system, is probably the most important, similar to that the question about whether the earth is round or flat, must be analysed by objective investigations, and not by counting votes of what people believe. However since democracy is often about voting and subjectively based decisions, we get another dimension to this problem when discussing the coordinates of the map, and if the results from different types of investigations, subjective vs objective, related to statism, capitalism, democracy, etc are inconsistent and differing much, it may be a dilemma about the democracy and its functioning.

An example of such a dilemma is, say, if all of the people were like punks 'allergic' to authority, the system would be seen as fascist in the public room and via polls, in an intersubjective way, but perhaps be real democratic in an objective way, based on analysis of the de facto flows of influence on the societal management. The opposite situation may of course also occur and be an equally serious political dilemma. A realistic opinion about the system based on reasonable investigations of the de facto flows of influence may in the one hand be seen as preferable from anarchist point, but if the intersubjective opinion is a bit false compared to the objective investigation's results - in the "allergic punk" direction, this may give more motivation for the people to change the system in a progressive way towards more democracy. The authorities on the other hand may be interested in a false intersubjective opinion the other way around, to promote status quo, a.s.o..

In any case, a serious anarchist research institute must investigate and publish the most objective results available, although it may be problematic. Say, the political anarchist federations - as such - may be interested in a more "allergic punk" type intersubjective opinion among people. This is a dilemma with respect to objective anarchist research, because the objective results may be attacked by the political anarchist federations, and in fact often is so. However, the information of the anarchist federation would probably be more efficient if it was presented as scientific and objective in a credible way, signed by "objective" institutes, and thus not be exposed as propaganda. However if the IIFOR were exposed as giving a bias in the research in this directions, it will lose credibility, so they don't act that way. But the dilemma is quite clear, because a slightly bias in the "allergic punk" direction not discovered, would have worked in a more progressive way. Thus de facto the anarchist research may sometimes have a slightly reactionary effect on the political development, i.e. the objective truth may have a slight authoritarian tendency, at least in the short run.

However if matter of fact criticism is working, even a slight bias will probably be exposed, especially in the long run, and thus to secure sustainable credibility, the anarchist research must do and publish the most objective truth, regardless of any possible short term propaganda benefits for the political anarchist federations. Furthermore, to expose the truth and not the lies is in itself an important part of the concept of freedom, and as a basis for rational freedom of choice. Thus, the anarchist research should be as much as possible objective and not have a propagandistic bias in any direction. This is as indicated above the research policy of the IIFOR and the research results presented at AIIS, www.anarchy.no, i.e. it has a high research ethical standard. However political and praxeological debates, also based on subjective opinions, may of course have propagandistic and /or polemical and/or ironical tendencies, i.e. within the general framework of having a clear matter of fact points. The AIIS-editorial staff, and especially the research editors however always tries to keep up a scientific, non-biased basis for the praxeological research and political actions. The temptations of short term political benefits by biased propagandistic "research" is totally rejected.

The similar, but in a way opposite problem of research based on the authorities perspective, i.e. other institutes than anarchist, is of course even more of a dilemma from democratic perspective, especially since the authorities often control much of the research in society economically and/or political/administratively. The free, matter of fact, criticism, a.o.t. in the newsmedia, is a must in a democratic and anarchist society.

To understand the nature of economic-political systems, theoretical and empirical, the following is an important theorem:

(1) If a system moves rightwards from the upper, i.e. advanced, part of the social democrat sector, the system reaches the anarchist sector of social individualism.

(2) And if it moves sufficient further right, it reaches the social liberal sector.

(3) Thus, such an anarchist system is found in the middle between an advanced social democrat system and a social liberal.

Anarchism is typically found in the middle, and not, say far left or right. The above mentioned type of anarchy is not the ideal form with a degree of anarchy = 100%, at the top of the map. But still the degree is significant, i.e. it is anarchy.

As indicated above **anarchy, anarchist and anarchism** mean in short **management/coordination without rule-r-s, tyranny and slavery, i.e. not without rules or law.**

There is a travesty of 'anarchism' and 'anarch'y, i.e. authoritarian and not anarchist - created by authorities and authoritarians that will harm the anarchist movement, and support ruling and rulers, and their 'useful' idiots. This travesty is ochlarchy, ochlarchist and ochlarchists, **broadly defined**, i.e. mob rule and similar tendencies including terrorism, mafia and criminality, anti-anarchy, anti-government and similar activities and oclarchical actions, etc, - falsely called 'anarchy', 'anarchist', 'anarchism', 'anarchists' and similar. This travesty is a completely false approach and thus 100% not consistent or compatible with anarchy and anarchism in real terms in any form, and what is

anarchist and thus anarchists. Persons, societies and situations compatible to - or acting according to this authoritarian travesty, including contradictory mixes of anarchist and such authoritarian ochlarchist tendencies, i.e. significant mixes of anarchist and the non-anarchistical, are chaotic, inconsistent, and thus authoritarian and neither valid anarchism nor anarchy, anarchist nor anarchists, etc.

It must be said loud and clear that valid anarchism is, and has been ever since after Peter Kropotkin published "Modern Science and Anarchism" 1903-1913 and confirmed on later anarchist congresses, principally a **consistent research front of libertarian research**, based on the same methods as modern natural sciences, but not in itself a natural science, being social scientific with a praxeological approach. And thus economical, political and social research and ideas, even with just **a little touch** of marxian, hegelian or other dialectics and pseudoscience, liberalistical metaphysical tendencies, populist new age or other religious ideas, principally brake the methodological basis of anarchism, and thus must be rejected as not valid as anarchism and anarchist. It may of course sometimes be possible to **reformulate** non-anarchist ideas and make them compatible to the anarchist methodology and framework, but this is something else than including such ideas directly as a part of anarchism. Say, things and events that look dialectical in an hegelian or marxian way, may be investigated by the natural scientific method, and be explained in an anarchistical way. This point of view implicates that all things and events principally have a logical, scientific explanation, however perhaps not as easy explained as it may seem as first sight. This is discussed more in chapter V.B. in this file.

But concepts as "anarcho-marxism" and "anarcho-capitalism", are "anarchy"-statism and "anarchy"-plutarchy respectively, and thus not anarchy or anarchism in real terms, because these concepts are contradictory and thus not consistent. Thus, "anarcho-marxism" is marxism and not anarchism, and "anarcho-capitalism" is capitalism (typically liberalism) and not anarchism, if these concepts are not so chaotic that they are some kind of populism/fascism in real terms.

As the heavy pressure from a) media presenting ochlarchy, ochlarchs and ochlarchists broadly defined falsely as 'anarchy', 'anarchists', etc, acting like the 4th power of the State and not a free press, and b) authoritarian education in general, supporting the false travesty of 'anarchy', 'anarchism', 'anarchist' and 'anarchists', have c) a big learning and educating effect in a derogative sense from anarchist point of view, d) a lot of naive persons and/or ochlarchists and ochlarchs broadly defined, provokers included, acting according to the authoritarian travesty may be or are being called and/or call themselves 'anarchists', **without being so at all**.

De facto a) such ochlarchy, ochlarchs, ochlarchists, and similar i.e. significant authoritarian, - falsely posing or calling themselves, or being called so by others, - anarchy, anarchism, anarchists or anarchs, etc, b) have not at all and never - and will never - as long as they are acting in this way and regardless of what they say or preach - be anarchists, anarchy, anarchism, anarchist, anarch and similar.

And thus, a) because of this heavy learning pressure towards adopting a social role and act according to the travesty of 'anarchy' and 'anarchists', including

mixes of the travesty of 'anarchy', i.e. ochlarchy and anarchy & similar, from the media and authoritarian education in general, of course b) **a lot of persons**, since the foundation of the anarchist movement about 1850 related to some of Proudhon's works, **have been ochlarchs and ochlarchists** - and **falsely calling themselves or being called anarchists**, sometimes first being called 'anarchist' derogatively by authorities and media, and then adopting the label for different purposes - or similar c) **have never been anarchists. Similar for situations, systems, organizations, and societies, called anarchy, anarchist or anarchism.** Thus, the history of anarchism and the anarchist movement, written by the authorities, authoritarians and/or their 'useful' idiots, and even by some rather naive more or less (semi-)libertarian, have included some - or a lot of persons, ideas, organizations, factions, societies and systems in general, that have been ochlarchical and authoritarian, and **never** been anarchist, anarchy, anarchism or anarchists, i.e. having a significant degree of anarchy.

All this false history writing, reflecting the ochlarchy = 'anarchy' travesty game, have never been acknowledged by anarchists, i.e. having a significant degree of anarchy. Anarchists have never accepted to play the social (or rather antisocial) role according to the travesty of 'anarchy' = ochlarchy, although the pressure towards playing this role from media, acting like the 4th power of the State, and the authorities and authoritarians may be enormous. And anarchists of course have been ironically joking in this context. Persons that don't understand irony, deadly irony and the irony of fate included, can never understand anarchism.

Why this travesty of ochlarchy = 'anarchy' game from the authoritarians? You should perhaps have guessed already? The purpose is

a) to falsely legitimate and make the people want authority, archies, and the arch - and even more authority when the game is played hard -

b) throw shit on the idea of freedom, a free society, anarchy and real democracy in general, to

c) make authority and the State in societal perspective, archies i.e. monarchy, oligarchy, polyarchy, and/or plutarchy - with ochlarchy broadly defined also including rivaling states within the state, i.e. more or less chaos - and the more the more authoritarian - the more statism and capitalism, i.e. authority in general look like a necessity, also

d) falsely calling authority and the ruling ochlarchy and chaos - tyranny and slavery, = 'real freedom', 'libertarian', 'class-less' and similar (and thus implicitly falsely calling it anarchy, i.e. libertarian, to make people even more confused, and falsely legitimate authority), and

e) producing through the indoctrination via media and education in general of the travesty of 'anarchy' = ochlarchy, some ochlarchists and ochlarchs making even more ochlarchy and chaos, falsely calling it 'anarchy' and the ochlarchists 'anarchists', (implicitly calling for the opposite of anarchy, that is archies and strong rule, more authority) to

f) via this 'opposition's' ochlarchy broadly defined, falsely called 'anarchy' (in reality these ochlarchs and ochlarchists, falsely posing as anarchists are 'useful' idiots of the authorities, playing the authorities own game, or deliberately authoritarians, such as nazis, police, marxians and/or other provokers falsely

posing as 'anarchists') keeping people even more afraid and impowerished (also many of the people then get wrongly angry at the anarchists, and they get heavy persecuted - also by the authorities - and thus be driven against own will to be the first in line in a front against the establishment - while authoritarian forces in opposition wanting to take over the power thus can stay away from the most dangerous frontline, and thus also get rid of most of the anarchist opposition), then organizing a call for the strong man, more authority - based on

g) the psychology that people afraid and feeling impowerished are acting similar to the small child calling for the 'strong man' i.e. mom or dad, to clean up the mess, etc forgetting however that the authoritarian rulers are not the nice mum and dad, but rule by ochlarchy broadly defined - in a vicious circle...

Perhaps a 90-100% degree of anarchy, 'heaven on earth' as defined above is hard to achieve in a society or country, and is a long term project, although principally the calibration of the map around the middlepoint should be done in a way that close to 100% anarchy is a realistic possibility and not utopian - at least in the long run. But everybody should agree that societies that are real democratic, i.e. the influence on the societal managemet and coordination goes more from the bottom, the grassroots and the people upwards - than the other way around, more from the top, the authorities - downwards to the bottom, i.e. anarchist systems on a reasonable lower rate of anarchism, close to, but > 50% degree of anarchy, is relatively easy to achieve. This is most likely achieved already in Norway since 1994, i.e. a degree of anarchy about ca 53% is a realistic estimate, (ca54% at the moment) and perhaps also there is anarchy in some other highly developed countries or places around the world, and several countries are probably close to anarchy and may perhaps reach this high level of social development in a relatively few years time. Time will show - the opportunity knox, - but it may easily go the other way, towards more authority economical, and political/administrative, both here and there.

The possible influence of the relatively small anarchist movement, the Anarchist International world wide, and its actions and arguments - on the general development must of course not be exaggerated, but the anarchists may perhaps now and then give some contributions to the megatrends here and there in the world of today in the right direction. And of course the Anarchist International of today, as anarchists always have raised their voice in this context and done, says a load and clear NO to the false mix of authoritarian tendencies and 'anarchy', and exposes the authoritarians' game of ochlarchy = 'anarchy' and ochlarchists falsely posing as 'anarchists' in this context, seen historically, today, and in the future.

II. THE ECONOMICAL-POLITICAL MAP

A. ANARCHY AND ANARCHISM DEFINED

The word anarchism is a bit problematic. Sorry to say, anglophone languages are very much twisted in an Orwellian "1984" "newspeak" way, to fool the people via the education to worship authority, compared to Nordic language. Say, in American/English:

A. Rules, rule = regler, regel (relatively fixed ways to settle things in an orderly way, i.e. regulations and regulatory means); but also, --

B. Rules, rule = hersking, hersker, herske (to be an arch/ruler, act as an arch, bestiality).

Thus in English/American the words 'archein (Greek) = herske (Nordic)' is translated to B. "rule" = to be an arch etc., but "rule" also is used as A. 'regel' = "rule" (i.e. rule(s) in the meaning of relatively fixed way(s) to settle things, disputes and conflicts in an orderly way, i.e. regulations and regulatory means = regel/regler). And thus, due to using one word to mean two very different things, i.e. A. and B, the anglophones are forced in an authoritarian way to think very much false and wrong about realities, with respect to anarchy, freedom and authority, that the Scandinavian people are not to the same extent. See the point! Anglophones are very much fooled by the authorities in this way, thus you probably cannot easily think free, but like a slave via psychological ruling, to think authority = ruler is necessary to keep order. In Norwegian a situation "an (without) arch(y)" "uten hersker" may very well be considered to be with 'regler' because "hersker" = rules, and "regler" = rules, are quite different words. This is very difficult to understand with an anglophone basis.

C. Furthermore the Greek word "an" is not meaning "without" in general, but just as "an" in anaerobe and similar words, i.e. "an" means without what is mentioned in the suffix, but keeping what is essential in the matter, i.e. management in the meaning of coordination related to anarchy, see below E.):

Perhaps the understanding of rule and "without rule", and anarchy is still a bit obscure and foggy to you? It is not easy to break the "1984" newspeak authoritarian tendency in a language and its impact on the thinking and human actions. Thus we will try to clarify this even a bit more:

D. To fix this linguistical problem in a simple way, we mainly use the word "rules" in the meaning of one or more rules in case A, and the word "rule" and "ruling" in case B, unless something else is mentioned.

OK! This is not a perfect solution, but it is perhaps the best way to deal with this American/English 'baboon babble', without introducing new words, that takes long time and big influence on the newsmedia and dictionary editors.... But anarchists have certainly more problems getting through with the message in USA and the anglophone world in general, than in Norway. In America the news on anarchy are not news, but authoritarian 'baboon babble'. Similar in the UK, Ireland, Australia, Canada, Mauritius, New Zealand, etc. Thus, the anglophone dictionaries etc should change a bit. Why not introduce the term "reagel" = "regel", adopted from Norwegian, and stop using the words "rule" and "ruling" in the "doublethinking" Orwellian "1984" "newspeak" way, but stick to the meaning of case B, and drop the meaning in case A? Time will show... But to do away with the authoritarian doublethinking newspeak "rule" = herske & "rule" = regel problem in American and English lingo will probably not happen fast. However after this discussion of passing by the anglophone 'baboon babble' to explain what anarchy is, we may try a brief definition:

E. The word "anarchy" origins from Greek. The original meaning, that everybody should stick to, is the following: The prefix "an" means "negation of", as in anaerobe vs aerobe, anandrous vs -androus, anhydride vs hydride, etc; i.e. "an" means without what is mentioned in the suffix, but keeping what is essential in the matter. The suffix "archy" means "rule (not rules or law), ruler, rulers, superior in contrast to subordinates, etc.", from Greek "archein", "to rule, to be first"; and

"archos", "ruler" i.e. in a coercive, repressive, etc. manner, slavery and tyranny included. As mentioned "an" means without what is mentioned in the suffix, but keeping what is essential in the matter, i.e. in this case management in the meaning of coordination, but without ruling. The 'ruling' is not essential, but an evil alienation, i.e. bestiality. Thus "Anarchy" doesn't mean "without coordination, management, administration, etc.". Anarchy is management, coordination and administration etc. without ruling and thus without rulers. [NB! remember D. Anarchy and anarchism of course have and regulations and regulatory means when necessary and optimal.]

A language that use the same word "rule" for the Norwegian "regel" as well as "herske", is so bad, authoritarian and Orwellian "1984" "newspeak" and "doublethinking", that it hardly deserve the word language, but should rather be called the anglophone 'baboon babble', not possible to speak anything but indistinctly about anarchy, i.e. real democracy, coercing the people to worship authority, to think like and be slaves, and throw shit on freedom by psychological ruling. It would be interesting to investigate the authoritarian manipulations of the languages in different cultures and countries. Certainly Norwegian is more in favor of expressing anarchist thoughts than American and English. But Finnish and German is perhaps worse than the anglophone, and what about Arabian? Albanian? Somalian? etc.? Americans, and the people in general, cannot be free with such authoritarian Orwellian "1984" newspeak. Strangely, Orwell, who invented the "newspeak"-concept was not capable of seeing through and reveal the newspeak tendencies in the British language, and not even Noam Chomsky, who knows a lot about the "Manufacturing of Consent" in the USA, has mentioned the "doublethinking" use of the word "rule" in his works.

This indicate the enormous authoritarian power of manufacturing artificially the language into a tool of the rulers by creating falsified "1984" type dictionaries, as say, Webster, Funk & Wagnall, Cambridge, etc. of today. **The IAT gives the editors in general a big brown card warning.** Even the most radical social critics, as Orwell and Chomsky have not by themselves managed to discover this evil, coercive and repressive ruler vs slavery-tendency within their own language, and exposed this false double use of the word "rule", the most basic 'baboon babble' in the economical-political world. To say "anarchy" = management/coordination "without rule" in English, sounds idiotic or meaning ochlarchy (mob rule, lawlessness), however management "uten hersking" i.e. with "regler", makes good sense in Norwegian, meaning realdemocracy.

We will now give a more detailed definition of anarchy:

The word "anarchy" origins from Greek. The *real meaning of the word*, based on broad analysis of the original interpretations of the prefix "an" and the suffix "archy", *which everybody should stick to*, is the following: The prefix "an" means "without", "not", "non-"or "negation of", as in anaerobe vs aerobe, anandrous vs -androus, anhydride vs hydride etc; i.e "an" means *without* what is mentioned in the suffix, but *keeping* what is essential in the matter. The suffix consists of two parts "arch" and "y". The "y" indicates "system", "organization" and (societal) structure, as in monarchy, oligarchy, plutarchy, etc., in contrast to monarch, oligarch,

plutarch, etc. Thus, this does *not* mean that "an" means negation of system, coordination, organization, structure, i.e chaos. "Anarchy" is system, coordination, organization and structure, just without "arch".

The suffix "arch" and/or "archy" mean "*arch*, i.e. a chief, ruler [the word *arch* for ruler is called obsolete in some dictionarys, but this is not accepted by anarchists]; arch, adj. i.e. cunning, roguish, sly, chief; arch- (a prefix meaning chief, principal (not principally) and similar used in titles of rank, say as in archon (chief magistrate, official, ruler or supreme commander), archchancellor, archfiend, archenemy, the principal enemy/fiend (in religion: Satan); archi- (a prefix signifying chief, first, as in archimage (chief priest or magician), archimandrite (head of a monastery) and in biology primitive; -arch(s) (a suffix signifying ruler(s), as in , monarch(s), heptarch(s), oligarch(s), polyarch(s), plutarch(s), etc.); rule, to rule (i.e. not rules or law), reign; ruler, rulers, power and might in the meaning of domination over others (i.e. not electrical power, purchasing power, etc.); tyrant, despot, dictator, emperor, caliph, emir, majesty, regent; superior in contrast to subordinates, as in archbishop, archangel, archduke, etc.; cunning, sly, shrewd, clever in a derogative way, as in arch villain; pert, waggish in repressive way, mischievous, mirthful in a derogative way, roguish, as an arch look; - from Greek "archein", "to *rule*, to be *first* (say, to stocks, supplies, provisions, etc., or in rank)"; and "archos", "*a ruler*, head and/or chief"; i.e. seeing these interpretations all together, *rule* in a coercive, repressive, subjugative, subduing, oppressive, suppressive manner, or influence and affection in a derogative way, and *coercion etc.*, rule by terror, rule *without* real law and order (i.e. without "court quality and security"), human rights, etc.; all forms of slavery and tyranny included.

Furthermore, the concept of anarchy must not be mixed up with authoritarian tendencies: Chaos, disorder, mob rule (ochlarchy), lawlessness, the law of the jungle, criminality, riots, theft, "free riders", corruption, drugs, mafia, terrorism, autocratic rule, the right to the strongest, antisocial tyrannic behavior, etc. i.e. *different types of superiors and subordinates*. Chaos typically is a mix of competing and rivaling monarchies, oligarchy, polyarchy, ochlarchy, plutarchy, and "states within the state", more or less at war with each other. This is quite the opposite of anarchy. The word "ochlarchy" is probably rooted back to the ancient greek historian and philosopher Polybius (born Megapolis, Arcadia, about 205 B.C., died about 125 B.C.) referring to "ochlarchy" as mob rule. The anarchists "reinvented" the word in 1996, without knowing about its historical greek origin.

Thus "arch" and "archy" in real terms, mean something more or less *undesirable for the people*, in contrast to the authorities, i.e. something that we could *manage* very well without, and anarchy means systems, organizations and (societal) structure based on coordination, management etc. without these *undesirable elements*.

The suffix "archy" means "rule (not rules or law), ruler, rulers, superior in contrast to subordinates, etc.", from Greek "archein", "to rule, to be first"; and

"archos", "ruler" i.e. in a coercive, repressive, etc. manner, slavery and tyranny included. As mentioned "an" means without what is mentioned in the suffix, but keeping what is essential in the matter, i.e. *in this case management in the meaning of coordination, but without ruling -- to put it a bit simple:* . The 'ruling' is not essential, but an evil alienation, i.e. bestiality. Thus "Anarchy" **doesn't** mean "**without coordination**, management, administration, etc."

Thus, "anarchy" doesn't mean "without coordination, management and administration (in public and private sectors), piloting, guidance, supervision, instruction, competence, government in the meaning of public sector, influence and affection in a non-derogative sense, law and order, human rights, etc." Anarchy is management, coordination and administration etc. without ruling and thus without rulers. And thus, "anarchy" means

a) "*coordination, management (including to manage, master ('mestre', Nor.), administration, piloting, guidance, supervision, instruction, competence, influence and affection in a non-derogative manner, law and order, human rights, etc.*;

b) without i) rule(r,rs), head, chief, government i.e. not without public sector, but in the meaning of vertically organized, and ii) rule from the top, the authorities, i.e. the upper classes, the bureaucracy broadly defined, economical and/or political/administrative in private and public sectors (in contrast to the people), downwards to the bottom, in a coercive, repressive, subjugative, subduing, oppressive and/or suppressive, etc., manner and coercion, etc., slavery and tyranny included".

c) Thus, "anarchy" is higher forms of economical and political/administrative democracy; 1. ideally, i.e. 100% anarchy, meaning 100% coordination and management etc. on equal footing, **without superiors and subordinates**, horizontal organization, and co-operation without coercion etc, or 2. practically, i.e. above 50% degree of anarchy; i.e. more horizontally than vertically organized, i.e. more influence on the societal coordination and management etc. from the "bottom upwards", than from the authorities etc, the bureaucracy broadly defined; from "the top downwards to the bottom".

The bureaucracy organized as a ruling management , i.e. significant downwards to the people and the grassroots - and not just an insignificant tendency in this direction, is also called authority or authorities, the State as a social concept or in a societal perspective - as well as government. Thus anarchy is a way of organizing society where there is management and coordination without ruling and rulers, tyranny and slavery, i.e. the tendencies towards State, authority, authorities, government, bureaucracy and similar are insignificant or zero. The opposite of anarchy is different types of archies, i.e. ruling and rulers, authority, authorities, State in a societal perspective, government - economical and/or political/administrative. Archies may be mainly monarchy, oligarchy, polyarchy, ochlarchy (mob rule) and/or plutarchy.

Thus, the State, administration of State, government, authority/ies, a.s.o. must not be mixed up with public sector, services and utilities, central/confederal/federal or municipal included, 'res publica', as the negation of the private sector and sphere, because State, government etc in this context

are about special forms of organization (or disorganization), i.e. all systems where the influence on the societal management and coordination goes mainly from the top towards the bottom, slavery and tyranny - chaotic included. Thus public sector, services and utilities, central/confederal/federal or municipal included, organized significant horizontally, are anarchist - and thus not the State, authority/ies etc. or a part of it. The concept of 'central' is here referring mainly to general matters, things concerning the whole country or all of the citizens, and must not be mixed up with centralist, centralism or centralization, the negation of decentralist, decentralism and decentralization.

d) Anarchism is economical and political/administrative systems and organizations that are coordinated, etc. as anarchy in the above meaning and manner. The suffix "ism" means system or organization similar to "y" in anarchy etc., but also political tendency, doctrine or ideology (in a non-derogative way, in the meaning of rational and real scientific) more explicitly. Thus anarchism is also the political tendency, doctrine and ideology (interpreted in this non-derogative way) based on anarchy; the political tendency and doctrine of anarchists. An anarchist is a person acting anarchistic, i.e. consistent with the concept of anarchy as defined above, or similar. Usually an anarchist must also call himself or herself anarchist, to be accounted for as anarchist. However, just to be called, or call oneself anarchist, doesn't necessarily make one. A person acting according to the authoritarian travesty (see below) of anarchism and anarchy, is not anarchist. Since there exists an authoritarian travesty of anarchy, anarchism and anarchist, which is (as we shall see) a negation of anarchy, anarchist and anarchism in real terms, as defined above; a definition of anarchy, anarchist and anarchism as any person respectively system etc. that calls itself or is called by others anarchy, anarchist and/or anarchism, is principally (self) contradictory, and thus not valid.

The words "doctrine" and "ideology" should as indicated above here be understood in a non-derogative way, i.e. anarchism is a set of scientific relations and testable hypothesis and principles, with a logical consistent taxonomy of concepts revealing realities, developed by the research methods of the modern natural sciences, i.e. inductive-deductive and hypothetical deductive methods broadly defined. The words "doctrine" and "ideology" in this context, should **not** be interpreted as a dogmatic doctrine, a false non-scientific belief or unrealistic, utopian system, say, with inconsistencies, circle-definitions, non-testable hypothesis, obscure prophecies or philosophy, dialectics and/or "new-age" ideas, or just optimistic propagandistic paroles without scientific and matter of fact content. Propaganda and polemics without matter of fact, solid background in scientific analysis, is not anarchist. If such systems, doctrines or ideology should be presented as "anarchism", this should at once be rejected as non-anarchist. The scientific basis of anarchism is further discussed in chapter V. "NOTES" at the foot of this web-page. Without defined precisely in this way, i.e. as scientific, anarchism should not be called a doctrine, ideology or philosophy, because it may then be mixed up with a dogmatic doctrine, a false non-scientific belief or unrealistic, utopian system, say, with inconsistencies, circle-definitions, non-testable hypothesis, obscure prophecies or philosophy, dialectics and/or "new-age" ideas, or just optimistic propagandistic paroles without scientific and matter of fact content.

Briefly defined anarchy and anarchism are coordination on equal footing, without superiors and subordinates, i.e. horizontal organization and co-operation without coercion. This means practically or ideally, i.e. ordinary vs perfect horizontal organization respectively. Thus, anarchy and anarchism mean real democracy, economical and political/administrative, in private and public sector.

"Coercion" is defined as restraint, hindrance, compulsion and government by force and/or fear, ruling, i.e. **repression**, etc. Co-operation without coercion also implies to "keep from acting by force, to dominate others". The somewhat contradictory idea that to coerce "is to keep from acting by violence" is rejected. Coercion is more the opposite of this. Thus "without coercion" also implies to keep from acting by force, say, as a public service. Sometimes co-operation without coercion implies use of violence to keep violent persons from acting by force, say, in self defence. Violence is however generally an evil, that should be used as little as possible.

Thus, an anarchist is also one that rejects economical and political/administrative exploitation and repression broadly defined, in public and private sector of the society.

As indicated above **anarchy, anarchist and anarchism** mean in short **management/coordination without rule-r-s, tyranny and slavery**, i.e. **not without rules or law**. It must **not** be mixed up with **anti-archy**, or **anti-government**, the political tendency of, say, the Oklahoma-bomber Timothy McVeigh, i.e. terrorism and ochlarchy (mob rule). **It is about organizing society in a more or less horizontally way, not killing people and/or destroy realcapital.**

Another meaning of the term "arch" may also be mentioned, i.e. chief, of the first class, principal, **as in "arch deed"**. This meaning of the word has less relevance to anarchy and anarchism as economical political concepts. Anarchists may of course do arch deeds, say, in science, sports etc., although the political work towards anarchy usually goes in small steps, step by step, without "arch deeds". Anarchists don't believe in miracles. Say, the term "propaganda by deed" means "guidence by example", a pedagogical principle, and has nothing to do with "arch deeds", especially not in a derogative meaning. But if someone will do a real arch deed for anarchy and anarchism, it would be nice. "Arch" in the rarely used meaning of "coy" or "shy", is also not relevant to anarchy and anarchism as political concepts. Furthermore "archi/arch" in the meaning of primitive, as traditionally used in biology, is used in general for a primitive type in a social context. Thus, a significant or extreme primitivism, is not considered anarchist. By "primitive" we don't mean "a simple life" if people prefer to live so for a while or all of the time, but rude, barbaric, "social-darwinistical", i.e. not very social, and authoritarian, making other people slave, one way or another, and/or living without birthcontrol, so death by starvation or hungerrelated illnesses rules the population, the marginal price on life is low, and thus everything evil and criminal may easily happen..

Arch may generally be used about "first class", as arch idiots, arch fools, etc. Of course anarchists should be pleased if (political/administrative and/or economical) "arch idiots" could learn to shut the mouth sometimes, and also the "ordinary idiots", but this use of the word has really nothing to do with

anarchism and anarchy as political concepts broadly defined. It is connected to political/administrative and economical hierarchy, i.e. rank and income differences respectively and broadly defined, that "arch" is relevant for anarchy and anarchism.

The word "rule" sometimes is used in the meaning of "the best", "most eminent", etc. Say, in year 2001 a Canadian group wrote an e-mail to AIIS/IFA telling that the official web-site of the Anarchist International "rules":

"Your site absolutely RULES. I am so glad that someone has taken the time to make an excellent source on the structure and ideology of anarchy available to the general public. For some reasons most stuff found in public libraries is exceedingly negative. Thanks again, and my colleagues and I found your site to be a great source for positive facts on anarchism."

Rock

on

G.J, R.W and A.L"

This of course was just a nice greeting, and has no connection to rule or ruler in the meaning of economical and/or political/administrative **repressive** power or subordination.

Furthermore "arch" in the meaning of a bow, an arc or an archway, also used in the word archer, origins back to French "arche", and Latin "arcus", and this has basically not anything to do with the concept of anarchy and anarchism, which origin from Greek. However, to **bow** for a tyrant, to be cowed or subdued, is not especially anarchist. Anarchist(s) should also be without arch in this meaning. This is however an accidental coincidence related to the words. Say, to build an arch, in the meaning of a bridge, say, for peace, may also be anarchistical, in this way anarchists may be with - and not without - arch. Thus, the latin word arch has only one interesting relation to anarchism and anarchy, i.e. in the meaning of "without to be subdued, cowed and/or bowed", and 'arch' in this case meaning also a subduing person or institution, one who tries significantly to cow and bow others, i.e. ruling or ruler in this way.

Above we have made a scientific **analysis** of the **real** and original meaning of the word or concept of anarchy, rooted back to the Greek origin of the prefix "an" and the suffix "archy". This analysis is made also by referring to the different interpretations of "an" and "arch(y)" found in most English and American dictionaries, say, as Webster's, Funk & Wagnalls, etc.. Furthermore, we have done a synthesis or aggregation, based on the analysis, trying to find the "main stream" or **typical** interpretations of the prefix and the suffix, and used these interpretations to generate and deduct a logically **consistent** interpretation of the concept of "anarchy" and "anarchism". Thus we have abstracted what is most relevant.

When we go back to these dictionaries, and search for the words "anarchy" and "anarchism", we will however discover something else, that:

A. "**anarchy**" is interpreted in a quite different and derogative way, as, say, 1. (the complete) absence of law and government (mainly in the meaning of public sector), 2. lawless confusion, political disorder and violence, sometimes terrorism included, and 3. general disorder, disorder in any sphere of activity, 4. "without a leader, chief or ruler", from Greek "anarchia", lack of ruler or

government, from "anarchos", without head, chief or ruler; "an" priv., and "archos", ruler; 5. with syn. lawlessness, disorder, tumult, rebellion, riot, insubordination; and

B."**anarchism**" 1. the theory that all forms of government are incompatible with individual and social liberty and should be abolished; and 2. the methods, especially terroristic ones, of anarchists, 3. philosophic anarchism, the advocacy of voluntary co-operation and mutual aid as a substitute for coercive power of the state, 4. the theory that formal government of any kind is unnecessary and wrong in principle; the doctrine and practice of anarchists, and 5. anarchy, confusion, lawlessness.

C. In short, anarchy and anarchism are chaos.

This is quite the opposite of the logical consistent and scientific conclusion, deducted from the origins and original meanings of "an" and "archy" seen first apart and then together, as done above. It is a **contradictive, inconsistent** and thus **chaotic**, unlogical and **non-scientific** interpretation, compared to the analysis made above. It is based on the wrong conclusion or prejudice that the real alternative to repressive (and more or less chaotic) rule(r(s)) are chaos, disorder, terror, etc. Furthermore chaos and disorder are typically ochlarchy and polyarchy in conflict, **rivaling** "states within the state", i.e. definitively different forms of rule and rulers, and not "without rule" or "lack of rulers", so this travesty "concept" is also contradictive, and thus non-scientific and not valid. In more poetical terms we may say, "to be anarch or to be an arch, that is the question" ('arch' here in the meaning trying to rule, be a ruler, or be bowed - ruled, according to the above given definitions.)

This unlogical and chaotic interpretation, which is simply wrong, rooted back to ancient authoritarian Leninistoid philosophers in Greece and their followers, who did not put the meaning of the two parts of the word anarchy properly together, is just the **authoritarian travesty** of the real concept of anarchy and anarchism.

Furthermore, the travesties of anarchy and anarchism are not only promoted in standard dictionaries and by authoritarian professors and media broadly defined, they are also promoted by Lenin's "useful" idiots and similar, acting according to this travesty. As long as the authoritarian and contradictive travesty of anarchism is dominant in the media, there will probaly always be some **confused** persons that will act according to the travesty, using their own **twisted** "logic" to believe that the ideal, by some mystical marxist dialectical way, can be reached by making the opposite, i.e. chaos and terror. Such **creators of chaos, ochlarchists, terrorists, etc.** have however principally nothing to do with the anarchist movement, whatever they may call themselves, or be called by the authorities and media. If the authoritarian travesty had not been so dominant, one reason for ochlarchy and terrorism would have been abrogated. However we see no need to discuss this extreme travesty further here, it is just similar to Orwellian "1984" newspeak, with similar repressive consequences. Anarchism, anarchist(s) and anarchy are not chaos, ochlarchy, ochlarcists and/or terrorism/terrorists.

Instead of using this travesty of anarchy and anarchism; persons, organizations and media should stick to the logical consistent

interpretations and concepts of anarchy and anarchism, based on the original, real, meaning of "an" and "archy", quoted above in this article.

There also exist dictionaries, lexica and media that don't promote the **extreme** travesties of anarchy and anarchism, as presented in the standard dictionaries of this age. There are different degrees of the travesty vis-à-vis the logical real term concept deducted above, presented in the media broadly defined. Say, a more middle point of view, i.e. only partly a travesty, is found in Donal Rutherford's Dictionary of Economics, published by Routledge, London 1992:

"Anarchism. The political doctrine which asserts that economic and social life should not be subject to any governmental control. (The term "government" is here not defined, thus it is not possible to say if it means "public sector" or "vertically organized", ed. note). The leading early exponents of this view were Pierre Proudhon (1809-65) and Mikhail Bakunin (1815-76). In practice, anarchism has been applied to industrial organization in the form of workers' syndicates but experiments of this nature in France and Spain in the early twentieth century were short lived. Although anarchists share with socialists a dislike of capitalism, with laissez-faire economists a mistrust of the state and with members of the cooperative movement a belief that firms should be managed by labour, they are more extreme, especially in wanting the abolition of private property and being prepared to risk the abandonment of systems of law and order." (However, the term "private property" vis-à-vis "lawful possession in an anarchist way", is not discussed. The anarchist concept of possession or property is not extreme in any way, and anarchism is higher forms of order and democracy, not "abandonment of systems of law and order". Perhaps Rutherford has mixed up government, i.e. vertically organized, with public sector?)

Rutherford is also referring to A. Ritter's "Anarchism: A theoretical Analysis", Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1980, a book discussing a quite ideal or perfect form of anarchy/anarchism as an aim, as a parallel to theoretical "perfect competition" models in market economics, without saying much on how to deal with "free rider" problems and other authoritarian tendencies, and the means to reach the aim in general, outside advocating "free criticism", related to Goodwin's pre-anarchist works. "Free, matter of fact, criticism", is of course basical to anarchy and anarchism, but only a necessary, not a sufficient condition for it. Furthermore George Orwell's highly relevant criticism of Goodwin's ideas on "free criticism" is not mentioned in Ritter's work. Free criticism must not be used in a repressive way, as the maoists' "take self criticism" (ta sjølkritikk) ochlarchy. People should be educated to **have** self dicipline and self criticism, **not take** self criticism or cadaver dicipline.

While the extreme forms of the travesties of anarchism and anarchy are typically found in the **standard dictionaries**, for the people broadly defined; the more expensive lexicas, mainly used by the upper classes, often are a bit more matter of fact. From time to time even anarchists have been asked to write about or define anarchy or anarchism. Kropotkin's old article about anarchism in Encyclopedia Britannica, and an article about anarchism in the Norwegian Socialist Left's, SV's, PAX lexicon, may be mentioned. However, when an anarchist, quite seldom, is asked to open the mouth to the general public, for a short presentation, it is easy to present the concepts of anarchy,

anarchist and anarchism in a superficial, shallow, or too propagandistic way. Both Kropotkin's and the other mentioned article have a touch of this tendency. If we look just at the Encyclopedia Britannica. article, Malatesta's criticism of Kropotkin, that he relied too much on "natural harmony", seems to be correct. However we know better, because Kropotkin (and several other prominent anarchists, in the famous "Manifesto of the 16") among other things, supported the allies in the First World War. Thus, seen all in all, Kropotkin didn't believe too much in natural harmony. Neither did Malatesta; although he criticized Kropotkin for the support for the allies, he later took a clear stand against pacifism as well as terrorism. By the way, Kropotkin also said a clear No! to terrorism, although some authoritarian writers say the opposite. Enough of this discussion! The **basic fact** that **anarchy**, means **an-arch-y**, i.e. **management and coordination without ruler**, not just "without rule", a vague term that **superficially** may be interpreted and manipulated in a lot of inconsistent ways, i.e. non-authoritarian as well as authoritarian, must never be forgotten. Especially when talking to the public via mass media.

It must also be mentioned that the **travesty of anarchy** generally is more frequent and extreme than the travesty of anarchism. A reason for this, is that while anarchism in a way is the property or possession of the anarchists, and thus in real terms to some extent is "copyrighted material" or a "trade mark", the word "anarchy" is "free" for anybody to interpret in the most inconsistent and derogative ways, for authoritarian propaganda and indoctrination. It is also clear that anarchy is the aim of anarchism and the anarchist movement. It is in no way logical to devide between these two concepts, and say we are against anarchy (the travesty), but for anarchism. This is a hopeless bow for the tyranny of authoritarian propaganda. Thus, to do away with the travesty of anarchy, is equally important as to do away with the travesty of anarchism.

Furthermore, the word **democracy** must always be interpreted as coordination, managemement etc. by the people, to be a really consistent concept, i.e. **not rule** by the people or the people as **rulers**, which are inconsistent and non-scientific. What "group" or "mass" should "the people" possibly rule i.e. over, if they should still exist as the people (grassroots) , and not be a kind of upper class? To rule, as opposite to coordination and management etc., is always management from the top, downwards. Thus, obviously, logically, scientifically and consistent, this mentioned "group" or "mass" (or "amount" or "set") must always be the **zero** group and mass (or "amount" or "set"). The same goes for the concept of "peoples' power" and "workers' power", broadly defined. In this case power means domination (over), as opposed to (balanced) strength.

We have in here in chapter II. A. done a basic semantic (from Greek *semantikos*. significant meaning) analysis, about the meaning, especially meaning in language, of the words anarchy and anarchism, explaining the concepts by abstracting from the basic and original meaning of "an" and "archy" in a logical consistent way. This is however a rather Platonic approach, i.e. to grasp the idea from within the realm of ideas and linguistic symbols. We may call this an 'a priori' approach in Kantian terms, since we principally have not dealt with material experience in this discussion, although some words have historical counterparts, as say 'anarchon' in the meaning of a magistrate in the old Greek society. To further investigate what anarchy and anarchism are really about, we

shall discuss the concepts in a more materialistic context, i.e. explain the material counterpart of the ideas of anarchy and anarchism as opposed to different forms of archies. In Kantian terms this may be called an 'a posteriori', 'after experience', materialistic approach to the matter.

This corresponds to 1. the **a priori** approach of mathematics, starting with some 'undefined terms' and linguistical rules, and thus deducting, say, $2 + 2 = 4$, i.e. in the pure Platonical world of abstract ideas, as, say, in the work Principia Mathematica of Bertrand Russell and Alfred North Whitehead (1910-13), and 2. the **a posteriori** approach, say, as outlined by John Stuart Mill and others, where the empirical working hypothesis $2 + 2 = 4$? may be tested by putting two stones plus two more stones on a table, and counting that the result is $2 + 2 = 4$ all of the time, because 3. a thing (in this case one stone) neither doubles itself by itself ($2 + 2 = 5$) nor vanishes by itself ($2 + 2 = 3$), and thus the hypothesis $2 + 2 = 4$ is confirmed in practice, empirically. In this a posteriori case however, $2 + 2 = 4$ is principally not equally certain as in the a priori **formal** case, because in other parts of the universe or later on (say next time the working hypothesis is tested/observed), however not very likely, the negation of 3) may perhaps and principally happen. We don't know if 3. always is valid absolutely and unconditionally certain. Perhaps, as Henrik Ibsen said, " $2 + 2 = 5$ on Jupiter?" or other places/time, say, in outer space? Perhaps not very likely, and if we have no information indicating that the conditions behind 3. is not fulfilled, it is no reason to think it is not valid. But principally, it cannot 100% be rejected.

But **if** (there is always an if) we know 3. is valid with 100% probability, i.e. statistically absolutely certain, by som given conditions, then we can be certain $2 + 2 = 4$ empirically, in the real world, say, when putting two and two stones on a table. This is so because things may principally be determined randomly and/or have another, nonrandom cause. However we cannot in the empirical, practical world be 100% certain in this question. Irritating enough.

This corresponds perhaps to chaos respectively order in a way, and is rooted down to the principle of contradiction, $a = a$ and everything is a or not a. This is the basic principle of scientific knowledge, the real meaning, and we know science works, not perfect, but it works. The alternative, based on contradictions, doesn't work scientifically and is meaningless, nonsense. A basic hypothesis is that contradictions cannot appear in the real world, only in the world of ideas. Even in a digital virtual reality, an appearing contradiction is not really a contradiction but can be traced and explained logically in the primary digital code. Perhaps if we could observe something that looked like a contradiction related to the real world, i.e. if it was not an hallucination or virtual reality, it may perhaps be explained in a similar way, related to a random or non-random course, via changes in electrons, photons, and other basic physical elements, and their movement. An unknown force or several forces may also principally explain something looking like a contradiction. Thus, say, if, the theoretical possibility of a a real break of 3. over, should appear, it may perhaps have logical explanations, and thus not brake the contradiction principle after all. A hallucination, a thought or feeling, may be traced to and explained by bioelectrical events in some parts of the brain. Even so called chaos theory is really a form of order, based on mathematical fractal equations. And both

random and nonrandom events may be expressed and described in a mathematical form, digital and/or other. However a mathematical model and its equations must never be thought of as the real world in itself, it is always, principally, existing in the world of ideas, on the paper, virtual reality. It may however correspond or correlate more or less exact to the real, material, world. For practical purposes a further discussion of these items should not be necessary. Thus, in chapter II.B. we will take on a more a posteriori position, i.e. case 2, and also based on 3. as well as assume that the contradiction principle is valid.

B. THE MAP

The model, i.e. the economical political map, is illustrated on fig. 1 above. Assuming two basic orthogonal dimensions, the political, i.e. statism vs. autonomism, and the economical, i.e. socialism vs. capitalism (economical plutarchy), we identify four main economic-political forms. Each of the main economic-political forms, 1. anarchism, 2. marxism ((state-) communism, state socialism), 3. fascism and 4. liberalism, illustrated by the four quadrants on the map, are divided into four subsections (sectors) along the same dimensions.

"Socialism" and "autonomy" may be defined in different ways. Such definitions may be rooted back to *equality, solidarity and freedom* and other principles, along economic dimensions, and non-economical, i.e. political/administrative, broadly defined. The marxists put little weight on freedom, when discussing socialism, and the liberals put too little weight on equality and solidarity, when talking about autonomy. Thus, the libertarian concepts of socialism and autonomy, may differ a bit from the marxist and liberal definitions. Even within the libertarian movement there may be slightly different interpretations of autonomy and socialism. *The map however is valid for different definitions of socialism vs capitalism, and autonomy vs statism.* Thus, the map has a very general scientific validity. In this note on the economical political map, we will discuss the measurment of socialism and autonomy on broad basis.

In this context it must be mentioned that while

- a) marxism typically is a quasi-religion/ideology and quasi-science which have one "devil", capitalism; per definition seen as the root of almost all social evils;
- b) liberalism is an ideology, among other things, trying to explain large income-differences, plutarchy, as fairness, "free" markets as the "wholy spirit" ruling with an "invisible hand" to the benefit for all, and statism as a "devil"; (The "divine" connection is especially outspoken in, say, Portugal, with the well known "Commercial Bank of the Holy Spirit")
- c) dogmatic "wannabe libertarian" or "autonomous" ideology has two "devils", capitalism and statism (more or less obscurely defined), which are seen as the roots of almost all social evils. In extreme form the "wannabe antistatist" will do away with the "state" wrongly meaning the public service of real law an order, to act criminally without sanctions, say do shoplifting of products, and thus make the producing workers broadly defined slave for them by not contributing to their fair remuneration, i.e act like a small time plutarch, capitalistical, and rule by the "right" to the strongest, mob rule, i.e. ochlarchy, "mafiastate",

including wrongly "wannabe anticapitalist" by destroying real capital and other valuable resources, and occupation of houses, etc. capitalistic, i.e. without having worked for the housing. All in all this means ochlarchy, the quite opposite of anarchy, as ochlarchy is essentially chaotic statist and capitalist, with polyarchy, oligarchy, plutarchy, rivaling "states within the state", mafia, i.e. authoritarian, and not libertarian. This tendency may be extreme. i.e. is a direct ideology of criminals. However sometimes this criminal element is less clear, especially in early stages of a "wannabe libertarian" movement, and the ideology is based on a more obscure antistate and anticapitalist idea, also sometimes including some idealistical dreams.

The moderate "wannabe" libertarianism is often combined with 1) a too optimistic view of man without "the two devils", being 2) very "anticapitalist", "antistatist" and/or "antiauthoritarian", i.e. rabid anti- but 3) only dreams for, say, "ideas" more or less about "an idle life with love, peace, wealth and freedom and everything for free". That is 4. with no real scientific, realistic, constructive organization theory of alternatives for life without statism and plutarchy, i.e. - just vague arch-optimistic utopian radicalist ideas, and 5) sometimes guru-hierarchical organizations, loose movements and/or blocs/blocks included, lead by symbolistical "tåkefyrster", i.e. "fogarchs" with 6) more or less militant hate against the "two Satans" and destructive, also being 7) **irrationally optimistic** about own strength, **totally underestimating** the powers of the armed and other forces of their "devils" and 8) the problems with organization based on socialism and autonomy, sometimes trying to implement their "dreams" not by own work, but by occupations, theft, robbery, cheating on welfare, as "free riders", a.s.o., i.e. in reality capitalistic and/or statist, ochlarchy/terrorism included, on small or large scale; and 9) overestimating the possible popular support and participation for such a quasilibertarian and/or direct reactionary, unrealistic policy; etc.

"Tåkefyrster", i.e. "fogarchs", that have vague, obscure ideas and unrealistical "workfree" dreams about the alternative future, often postponing it to a far future, and are great at uniting people against one or two "devils" of the establishment, say, doing "class war", but such movements in practice only are repeating plutarchy and/or statism, and thus may be semilibertarian or more or less authoritarian, - marxism, populism/fascism or liberalism, **but not anarchistical**.

At best such people are semilibertarian marxian to the left, individualistic liberalists to the right, or "populist light", at worst they are more than 67% authoritarian, dogmatic, intolerant, totalitarian, terroristic, fundamentalists, etc. In reality they are never located in the anarchist quadrant on the Economical-Political Map, despite of their (quasi-) libertarian rhetoric. A typical example is "van der Lubbe-ism", named after a marxist council communist utopian radicalist, probably burning down the parliament building in Berlin 1933, only serving authoritarian tendencies (nazism/fascism and marxist-leninism), and thus acting like a "useful" idiot of Lenin (and Hitler).

The **marxist-lubbeism** is not very far from the marxist-leninism of the German terrorist organization "Baader-Meinhof", RAF - Rote Armé Fraktion - Red Army Faction, - on the economical-political map, and both are far from anarchism on it. And RAF is not so far from the neonazis who again are not so far from the

"libertarian" "Freiheitliches" party of Jürg Haider in Austria. Say, a (former?) RAF-member in Germany joined the neonazis and supported the al-Qaeda terrorists, who attacked both Pentagon (symbol of the state) and World Trade Center (symbol of capitalism) in 2001. The American "FC55 -Unabomber" and his arch-primitivist followers are also in the same **nest** broadly defined, and they are not so far from the brown and blue "antigovernment" Oklahoma-bombers, and the extreme rightist "Olympiabomber".

All these political groups and tendencies are more than 67% authoritarian on the economical-political map, ideologically and/or in practice, spread not far from the bottom of the E.P. map from the left to the right respectively; Osama bin Laden's and "Doctor Dead" Ayman al-Zawahiri's, RAF, FC-55, Oklahoma and Olympia bombers' aims in ideological manifestos may be "anti-capitalist", "anti-imperialist", "anti-globalisation" and/or "anti-state", "anti-archy", "anti-government" or "anti-authoritarian" with more or less "good intentions", but this is not relevant:

The real aim is generally the consequences of the means that are used, and nothing else, and "wannabe libertarians" never take that significant into account. That's why they are "wannabes" - and never libertarians, i.e. anarchists. Marx himself was also quite a quasiscientific "fogarch" as well as his followers, postponing a "classless" (marxian) communist dream to a far future, and introducing strong rule and more or less one-party mafia-state, based on ochlarchy, rule by terror included. **Other well known "fogarchs" and their movements are mentioned in chapter V at the foot of this web-page.**

d) anarchism has no religion/ideology, and no devils, but look scientifically and critically on the matter and different cases, having the State in a societal context, i.e. capitalism and statism, as possible working hypothesis for evils in the society, but also look on other items, proportional to realities, trying to be as objective as possible (see discussion on objective below, search on "object" in this file). The most of the analysis is about realistic alternatives, a scientific social organization theory for life without statism and plutarchy, - **for** autonomy and socialism, not rabid "anti-...", and with realistic strategies and tactics. **Furthermore, anarchism take fully into account that the real aim is in general the consequences of the means that are used, and nothing else.** (This point of view is further discussed in chapter V.)

Thus, the economical -political map is seen as a useful *aggregated taxonomical tool* for analysing important *characteristics and qualities* of economical-political *systems*, i.e. *societies*, as well as economical and political *programs* and *organizations*, *theories* and *practice*, but it must *not* be used *dogmatic*, seen as accounting for all relevant societal things, per definition.

The EP-map may in a way be viewed as an economical-political parallel to national accounting and the concept of Gross National Product, GNP, etc., in economics; a very useful tool for analysis, but also with a lot of problems of principal, theoretical, practical and statistical nature. Some of these problems are discussed in chapter V and via links mentioned in this chapter.

1. The economical coordinate, the percentage degree of socialism, SOC, or capitalism, 100% - SOC, may depend about fifty-fifty on

a) the means of production and distribution being collectively (or more precise *commonly* or *in common*) vs privately owned*) and managed and
b) the degree of solidaric equality and freedom in economic terms;

or a similar interpretation of economical *democracy* vs *plutarchy*, significant economical hierarchy (capitalism - theft, broadly defined). Democracy means, quite simplified, "one person - one vote", i.e. equal votes for all in the elections. Markets however mean "one dollar - one vote". Thus markets are only economically democratic as far as money or other means of payment, among other things, the purchasing powers, are significant equally distributed according to anarchist principles. And thus, markets are probably only anarchistical, i.e. real democratic and non-plutarchical, if they are publicly regulated in a libertarian way, with free contracts - not slave contracts, etc. Ideally, anarchists want to use other means of payment than money, say, different forms of electronically accounted, convertible Work Credits, but money is of course a less evil than primitive exchange of goods and services, with no special means of payment at all. (See also point 3.)

2. The political coordinate, the percentage degree of statism, STA, or autonomism, 100% - STA, may depend on

a) the size of the state in meaning of government sector, local government and administrative bodies broadly defined included, and

b) its ramifications in establishments outside the state in the above sense;

or a similar interpretation of political/administrative democracy, or more generally, the degree of political/administrative freedom, solidarity and equality, etc. vs vertically organized political/administrative systems; The "government sector and its ramifications" means political/administratively vertically organized, and it is not always the same as "public sector". This means statism broadly defined, significant political/administrative hierarchy, monarchy, oligarchy, polyarchy and/or ochlarchy (mob rule) included, in both public and private sector.

3. If an economical plutarchy, i.e. the relatively rich, take over significant political/administrative hierarchy in public and private sector, a *political/administrative plutarchy* is introduced. This is a form of populism/fascism. If significant political/administrative hierarchy, say, a military junta, take over significant economical hierarchy in public and private sector, another form of fascism/populism is established. Any combination of statism combined with plutarchy (capitalism) is a form of fascism. The statism may take the form of monarchy, oligarchy, polyarchy and ochlarchy (mob rule, broadly defined including mafia, chaos, no human rights, no real law and order, real lawlessness, etc.) included, and principally also be based on political/administrative plutarchy, or combinations, in both public and private sector.

A social, economic-political system with free and fair elections of mandated representatives or delegates, usually called democracy, may function more from the top downwards, significant vertically organized, centralist or the opposite,

from bottom upwards, significant horizontally organized, federalist, i.e. anarchy. Thus all anarchies are democracies but everything called democracy is not necessarily anarchist or anarchy. Many so called representative democracies may work more from the top downwards than the opposite, from the bottom upwards, and thus are not real democracies, anarchies, but archies. Thus anarchy is always democracy but not all democracies are anarchist, i.e. some democracies are archies, anarchy is as mentioned real democracy. Anarchy is just minor part of, a subset of, the total amount of democracy, because not all democracies are anarchies, real democratic. A lot of conditions must usually be fulfilled to secure that a democracy is a real democracy, i.e. anarchy. A lot of people's organizations broadly defined, a free press, i.e. not the 4th power of the State, dialog and free, matter of fact, criticism, all organized significantly according to anarchist principles, is a necessity. The existence of a sufficient amount of real alternatives, and a general balance of strength, significant stopping power in the meaning of domination, economical and political/administrative in public and private sectors, may also be mentioned.

A real scientific, i.e. a non-dogmatic anarchist way of thinking, as opposed to populist/fascist and relativist, marxist dialectical and liberalist more or less metaphysical way of thinking, is another important thing. By real scientific, we mean using the natural scientific method broadly defined, thinking principally and that hypothesis may be rejected, also taking into account realistic future scenarios related to different alternatives and actions, costs and benefits. Thus thinking, say, if this and that are the conditions, and these are the alternative actions, what are the probable alternative outcomes, - and then decide what actions are best, real democratic i.e. **what is in the interest of the less beneficial majority of the population, the people** vs the authorities and upper classes. "Best arguments win" and to get "competence effectively and fair through in the system" are benchmarks in this context. To criticize the present proposals and situations **without** having a clearly better **realistic alternative**, is quite useless. For higher degrees of anarchy, usually different forms of co-operatives and federalist direct democracy organized according to anarchist principles are important parts of the economic-political system.

More precise definitions of the economical- and the political/administrative coordinates, interpreted in an essentially anarchist way, are found in Chapter IV. "Anarchism, State and Capitalism" below , and in the *) , i.e. chapter V. "Notes", at the foot of this web-page. For different interpretations of the concepts of socialism and autonomy, are however the following valid:

The map indicates the degree of democracy concerning both the economic and the political dimension, taking into account the [16 subsections, i.e. sectors](#), of the main quadrants. A bit simplified the 16 sectors may be explained in the following way:

- 1. The anarchist ideal at the top of the map, with individualist anarchism to the right, collectivist anarchism to the left, and social individualist anarchism close to the middle of the map.**
- 2. Marxist semi-libertarian collectivism close to the anarchist left; social democracy close to the middle, and the more statist and authoritarian**

socialist left and state communism (leninism and similar) located at the left corner and down, close to fascism, respectively.

3. Left, right and ultra fascism (nazism and other very chaotic tendencies) are found at the bottom of the map, with(left, middle and right) populism above towards the middle.

4. Liberalism, i.e. conservatism and the extreme right are authoritarian; social liberalism is close to the middle of the map, and semi-libertarian individualism is close to the right corner of the anarchist quadrant.

The *left-right dimension* goes from 100% statism and socialism on the left wing, to 100% capitalism and autonomism on the right, associated with an ideal state-socialist planning system and a perfect competitive market system respectively. The *progressive-reactionary dimension* is orthogonal to the left-right dimension. This axis goes from 100% socialism and autonomism as the most progressive, to 100% capitalism and statism as the most reactionary.

Another important dimension is the *libertarian-authoritarian*, the ['altitude' of the map](#) stated by the authoritarian degree, AUT%. Furthermore $100\% - \text{AUT}\%$ gives the libertarian or anarchist degree. The anarchist degree is only defined within the anarchist quadrant. Assuming that the degree of statism and capitalism contributes symmetrically to the authoritarian degree, this is indicated by the distance from the anarchist ideal, the top of the map. Thus, there exists an area on the economical-political map which is *semi-libertarian*, i.e. not authoritarian (authoritarian is more than 50% authoritarian degree), but not anarchistic. If the system has an authoritarian degree equal to or more than 50%, the system is either anarchist or semilibertarian to the right or left.

If the system is equal to, or more than $2/3$, i.e. $66.6\ 666\ 666\ 666\ \dots\%$ (ca 67%) authoritarian, it is called ultra-authoritarian, i.e. totalitarian, fundamentalistic and/or, primitive archi-society. These systems may also be called "hell on earth". All systems with less than $66.6\ \dots\ %$ authoritarian degree is called democratic, however only the anarchist systems are real democracies, i.e working more from the bottom upwards, than the other way around. The anarchist, real democratic $1/4$ of the map, plus the semilibertarian systems to the left and right, have a total area of $\pi/8 = \text{ca } 3,14/8 = \text{ca } 39\%$. The whole democratic area has $\pi/2/9 = \text{ca } 3.14 \times 2/9 = 70\%$ of the map. The totalitarian i.e. $2/3$ or 66.6 etc % authoritarian, the systems with only $1/3$ ($33.3\ \dots\ %$) libertarian or less tendencies, cover an area $= 1 - \pi/2/9 = \text{ca } 30\%$ of the economical political map. The least authoritarian systems, i.e. with $1/3$ (ca $33,33\ %$) or less authoritarian degree are all found within the anarchist quadrant of the map, and cover an area of $\pi/18 = \text{ca } 3.14/18 = \text{ca } 17\ %$ of the map. Thus it is less systems that have under $1/3$ (ca 33%) authoritarian tendencies, i.e. the most libertarian (17% of the map), than the most authoritarian, i.e. less than $1/3$ libertarian tendencies (ca $30\ %$ of the map). This indicates it may be much more easy to create hell than heaven on earth.

A degree of anarchy = 100%, i.e. 100% socialism and autonomy, is mainly a theoretical concept, which probably practically never can be reached fully. The complete anarchist ideal is in a way similar to the horizon. When getting closer, another horizon appears. All things may be improved, also plans for the anarchist ideal. These new interpretations must however probably always be based on the IFA principles, i.e. *the basic principles of the anarchist social ideal!* The IFA principles, rooted back to the 1872 Conference of Saint-Imier in the Swiss Confederation and the decisions made at the Congress of Carrara in Italy, 1968; and adopted at the Congresses of IFA in Carrara 1978 and Oslo in Norway 1982, are the following, quoted in French:

"Ce sont les principes suivants: Negation de l'autorite et de tout pouvoir; Negation de la hierarchie; Negation des lois juridiques; Liberte, Egalite, Solidarite, Justice sociale, Contrat libre, Libre initiative, Atheisme, Antimilitarisme, Internationalisme, Decentralisme, Autonomie et federalisme, Autogestione et communisme libertaire. La negation de l'autorite et de tout pouvoir est le principe essentiel et le signe distinctif de l'anarchisme et du mouvement anarchiste. Tous les autres principes libertaires decoulent de cette negation de l'autorite et du pouvoir.

L'internationale des Federations Anarchistes (I.F.A.) est constituee par des Federations - une par pays. Ces Federations jouissent de pleine autonomie dans leurs structures et dans leur fonctionnement interieur, mais elles sont solidaires entre elles en vertu du pacte d'association commun, volontairement et librement accepte, qui constitue partie integrante de cette declaration de principe de l'anarchisme social."

These principles of social **ideal** anarchism constitute a leading star for anarchism in general, i.e. communist, collectivist and individualist anarchism, as well as social individualist anarchism, practical social anarchy, anarchism and federalism included. **Other important anarchist principles, contributing to define the anarchist ideal, are the Oslo-Convention, efficiency and fairness, anarchistically interpreted human rights and ethics, the economical political map, and anarchy vs other -archies. The anarchist ideal is defined by 100% socialism and autonomy, minimal income and rank differences, efficiency and fairness, and the other mentioned anarchist principles. When we sometimes use the words "no hierarchies" when describing the anarchist ideal, it is an approximation. The exact term is minimal hierarchies, economical and political/administrative. In general the I.F.A. principles should be interpreted consistent with the axiomatic principles (1) - (10) defining anarchy and anarchism in chapter IV.B. on this file.**

Other anarchist tendencies, eco-anarchism, anarcha-feminism, anarcho-syndicalism, etc., may be seen as taking care of special forms co-operations vs coercions, within the four general sectors of the anarchist quadrant on the economical political map. Say, anarchism without feminism, is only patriarchal half-anarchism, etc. However these special tendencies of anarchism should not be expanded towards general systems, because then they may be of a somewhat totalitarian

nature, and thus not anarchist. As an example, if the workers' federations shall run the whole economy and politics, as a *public sector monopoly*, the system will probably end up very similar to the Soviet Union, and will never achieve, say, efficiency and fairness. Say, when the union is "the boss", where shall a person in conflict with this management seek support. Another workers' federation against the anarcho-syndicalist perhaps? Thus "anarcho-syndicalism" interpreted as a *totalitarian system*, is not anarchist. However workers' federations managing several factories in private and public sectors, in an anarcho-syndicalist way, may well be anarchist. But *not* if they run *all*, or practically all, of the enterprises. If feminism is expanded too much, the system will be matriarchy, i.e. not anarchy. Too much green/eco-anarchism will probably end up in primitivism, archie-society, which is not anarchist. Thus, these anarchist tendencies should just *be tendencies*, and no more.

An example of an anarchist ideal society is suggested in IJ@ 2 (31):

"The Anarchist Federation of Norway - Anarkistføderasjonen i Norge, ... pointed to the distance between the present [Norwegian] society at ca 53% [ca 54% at the moment] degree of anarchy, and the 100% anarchist ideal, i.e. defined by 100% socialism and autonomy, minimal economical and political/administrative rank differences, efficiency and fairness, and the (other) anarchist principles, i.e. the IFA-principles, the Oslo convention and anarchist human rights, etc. They used the anarchist economical - political map to strategic positioning.

A vision of a society with, say,

a) a private sector with self employed on individual and co-operative basis in ideal horizontally organized networks economical and political/administrative, non-bureaucratic large worker and consumer co-operatives and anarcho-syndicalist managed factories, in production and distribution - individual and co-operative housing, and

b) a public sector based on ideal horizontally organized federalism, autonomy and direct democracy, on local and confederal plan - economically and political/administrative,..." [was introduced. This of course also include different forms of enterprises in public sector, say co-operatives, anarcho-syndicalistically managed firms, etc.]

Anarchism may be revolutionary or reformist. Social revolution means changes of economic and political-administrative, i.e. socio-economic, structures (including performance) in the society. Reform and reformism mean changes within given socio-economic structures. Thus, the term "structural reform", i.e. socio-economic, is a contradiction and should be avoided. Reforms cannot change a systems coordinates. The coordinates of the economic-political map are reflecting the socio-economic structure. Thus, a change of economic-political system, i.e. a significant change of the system's coordinates, is a revolutionary change. Social revolutions may be anarchist, marxist, fascist or liberal. The change from marxism to anarchism in Norway 1994 is an example of (a small) anarchist revolution.

As mentioned above **anarchy, anarchist and anarchism** mean in short **management/coordination without rule-r-s, tyranny and slavery**, i.e. **not without rules or law**. It must not be mixed up with anti-archy, or anti-

government, the political tendency of, say, the Oklahoma-bomber Timothy McVeigh, i.e. terrorism and ochlarchy (mob rule) and other authoritarian tendencies, i.e. archies. It is about organizing society in a more or less horizontally way, not mobbing or killing people and/or destroy realcapital.

Last but not least it may be mentioned that the formulas related to the economical political map as such - and **statistically** seen - are certain, not uncertain, relations, i.e. in meaning that there is no statistical deviation from the equations if the data is consistent. It is not a relation similar to Einstein's $E = Mcc$, that must be tested statistically to see if it is valid. Thus - a regression analysis with consistent data on the formulas of the map will always give 100% correlation and no deviation, similar to accounting by double entry if it is properly done. If the correlation is not 100% exact, something is wrong with the data, not the equation and theory, i.e. the data is inconsistent. This is valid for all kinds of ecocirc relations (equations). In this context we may say that the formulas of the map (and other typical ecocirc) principally are a) synthetical - not analytical, i.e they say something about the real world, - b) they are by induction and generalization formulated from different ways of organizing society historically and contrafactual by realistic alternatives, i.e. posteriori - "after experience" - and not a priori and c) (statistically) certain or nonhypothetical (100% correlation with a consistent set of certain data) - and not hypothetical in the meaning of statistical testable i.e. (statistical) uncertain. This does not mean that the equations related to the map are 100% unconditional and absolutely truths - they are build on some basic assumptions or axioms, say, a.o.t. with political implications (say, symmetrical dimensions), and as mentioned data consistency. If the data are uncertain, determined with a random error, still only consistent sets of data are relevant and such data will give 100% correlation by regression analysis, but the coordinates on the map may then still be uncertain, and we can give a most likely estimate and an area around this point as a two dimensional confidence area that will cover the system's coordinate with som given probablity (confidence level).

If we use the Platonic, non-materialistic, framework mentioned above in chapter II A. instead, the equations related to the map and ecocirc may principally in general be considered as a priori, synthetic and (statistically) certain relations, given consistent data. This double way of interpretation of this type of equation in scientific theoretical perspective is due to the fact that ecocirc relations reflects human constructions and organization of a society, locally or on larger basis, that may principally be a) planned in advance based on **a priori** reasoning, and then constructed after the plan, by political and social "engeneering", through a constitution etc., or b) developpe historically without planning in a more or less random or chaotic way, and then by studying the factual organizations, can induct and abstract via generalization the basic ecocirc relations by the way these human constructions works, the factual 'circular flows' and distribution of economical and political/administrative power, money and products, etc.

III. ANARCHISM: IDEAL, PRINCIPLES & PRACTICE

I. Anarchist ideal and principles: The aim is more anarchist systems, i.e. a movement towards more human rights and the best of the ideals of the French revolution, fairness and efficiency, less rank and income

differences. The word anarchy origins from greek. The prefix an means negation of, as in anaerobe vs aerobe; and arch means superior, i.e. in contrast to subordinates, as in archbishop. Anarchy, anarchism, anarchist, etc. are alternatives to, and the opposite of, different forms of superior and subordinate positions, non economic and economically: Political/administrative rank and economic/income hierarchies broadly defined and in real terms, i.e. respectively (1) statism and (2) capitalism.

* Thus: Anarchy, anarchism, anarchist a.s.o. mean coordination on equal footing, without superiors and subordinates, i.e. horizontal organization and co-operation without coercion. The basic principles of anarchism are: The negation of authority and all of its power, hierarchies and juridical laws. Freedom, equality, solidarity, social justice, free contract, free initiative, atheism, antimilitarism, internationalism, decentralism, autonomy and federalism, self management and 'comunismo libertario', i.e. not communism, but *libertarian communalism* - *from each according to ability - to each according to needs*. These concepts and principles should be considered all in all, not partially. [NB! In general these principles should be interpreted consistent with the axiomatic principles (1) - (10) defining anarchy and anarchism in chapter IV.B. on this file.]

* Thus: Freedom, i.e. free people, freedom without damaging the freedom of other people. Federalism without autonomy is not anarchist. Social justice means a) anarchist law and court systems, compatible with the negation of hierarchy, etc., i.e. alternatives to authoritarian juridical laws; and b) antimilitarist corps broadly defined, sufficiently strong to keep order and keep up the balances of strength, as well as stop militarism, intra- and internationally. Generally speaking, antimilitarism is not pacifism... [We don't mean vigilantes, private army or police, but corps for a) civil anarchist law and order and b) defence of the country, as public sector goods, available for everybody on equal footing. Sufficient public service of policing to keep optimal law and order, but not a larger police corps, is important. Man is not like ants who cooperate socially, naturally and voluntarily without coercion automatically by themselves. Thus, doing away with the existing rule or tendencies of authority may easily result in ochlarchy, mob rule, and not anarchy, if not a firm horizontal social organization, ideally or practically is established with a sufficient police corps to create security and libertarian law and order and to do away with tendencies towards ochlarchy. Furthermore it must be mentioned that variation in the degree of "flatness" of organizations/federations of different purposes and aims may be optimal, say, a police or defence corps organization/federation may have a somewhat less degree of flatness than a study circle.]

* These concepts and principles seen all in all, reflect different aspects of autonomy broadly defined, and socialism, as negations of statism and capitalism respectively. The basic social dimensions, (1) statism vs autonomy and (2) capitalism vs socialism, have many aspects. Different perspectives, the feminist, environmental, intergenerational, subordinate positions due to lack of structure or organization, people on

their knees or flat on their face because of drugs, etc.; are included in the concepts of rank and income broadly defined. Religious and guru organizations are principally considered as special forms of (political)/administrative rank and economic hierarchies, i.e. mainly based on psychological power & ruling techniques, and non atheist ideology. By the way, atheism without solidarity and freedom is not anarchist...

* Anarchism is not, and should not, be expanded towards a totalitarian system. Other kinds of rankings and hierarchies, say, in sports, games, etc., are, as long as it is fair play, mainly not relevant from anarchist perspective. It would be relevant, say if the winning team of the curling league automatically got seats in the parliament, but this is not the case. Scientific validity is not a political/administrative rank question, and authority must not be mixed up with competence. The use of the word 'authority' for competence should be avoided, as it is Orwellian "1984" newspeak. This should not be forgotten in education & research, and economics & politics, broadly defined...

II. Practically speaking anarchy, anarchism, etc. are systems and human relations with relatively small economic and rank differences, i.e. more horizontally than vertically organized. However, the anarchist ideal at the top of the economic political map, i.e. with no such hierarchies at all, should not be forgotten as a leading star and standard for economic and political/administrative navigation. Say, two people stranded on an island, may co-operate without coercion to survive, i.e. anarchy, or act as superior vs subordinate, i.e. hierarchy and more or less chaos...

III. The geometry of economic political mapping. The EP map is illustrated on fig. 1. above. There are two basic dimensions for a system's coordinates:

(1) A system may be wholly [1 = 100%] autonomous, wholly statist, or somewhere between;

(2) A system may be wholly [1 = 100%] socialist, wholly capitalist, or somewhere between.

* The four corners: A wholly autonomous and socialist system is wholly anarchist, and located at the top of the map. A wholly statist and capitalist system is wholly authoritarian [fascist], i.e. located at the bottom of the map, where the authoritarian degree, the relative distance from the top of the map, is 100%. A wholly autonomous & capitalist system is located at the right corner [liberalism]. A wholly statist & socialist system is located at the left corner [marxism].

* The four edges: Wholly autonomous systems are located at the upper right edge, i.e. the autonomous edge. Wholly statist systems are located at the bottom left edge, i.e. the statist edge. Wholly socialist systems are located at the upper left edge, i.e. the socialist edge. Wholly capitalist systems are located at the bottom right edge, i.e. the capitalist edge. A wholly statist system is zero autonomous, and vice versa. A wholly capitalist system is zero socialist, and vice versa.

* The two borderlines and four quadrants: Half [1/2 = 50%] autonomous systems are located at the autonomous borderline, i.e. the parallel in the

middle between the autonomous edge and the statist edge. All systems between the autonomous borderline and the autonomous edge are autonomous, i.e. significant degree of autonomy. Other systems are statist. Half [1/2 = 50%] socialist systems are located at the socialist borderline, i.e. the parallel in the middle between the socialist edge and the capitalist. Systems between the socialist borderline and the socialist edge are socialist, i.e. significant degree of autonomy. Other systems are capitalist. The two borderlines divide the map in four quadrants: (Top) Anarchism, i.e. socialism and autonomy; (Left) Marxism, i.e. socialism and statism; (Right) Liberalism, i.e. capitalism and autonomy; (Bottom) Fascism, i.e. capitalism and statism. The four quadrants are divided in four sectors each.

* Anarchy vs chaos: The basically authoritarian notion about "chaotic anarchy", is not valid. Anarchy is the highest form of social order, thus, "chaotic anarchy" is similar to "chaotic order" = "chaotic non-chaotic", i.e. a contradiction and meaningless. A system or society cannot at the same time be both anarchist and non-anarchist, i.e. chaotic. If a system is chaotic, it is not found in the anarchist quadrant on the EP map, but left, down or right. Anarchist policy is typically consistent, flexible, but not opportunistic, related to principles; while authoritarian policy typically is chaotic, opportunistic, conglomerate aggregates. Chaos is typically found at more than 67% authoritarian degree below zero, i.e. basically totalitarian systems. Don't forget the Oslo convention about anarchy vs chaos...

* The degree of anarchy is 100% minus the authoritarian degree, i.e. within the anarchist quadrant. Systems with authoritarian degree less than 50% outside the anarchist quadrant are semi libertarian, i.e. not significant authoritarian degree, but not anarchist. Thus, mixed concepts as anarcho- capitalism, -liberalism, -marxism, -populism, -statism, -chaos, -authoritarian, -totalitarian, etc. are all contradictions, inconsistent and meaningless. A system's coordinates cannot practically be located in two or more quadrants of the map at the same time. A system's coordinates reflect the system seen all in all, i.e. what is significant tendencies.

IV. A practical example: The history of modern Norway as an independent country, started with the breakaway revolution from the Union with Sweden, triggered by the 7.6.1905 declaration. The successful revolution of 1905 indicated a considerable autonomous shift, i.e. less statism. However, it took 89 years before the system, after a major set back in 1940-45, and later many years characterized by marxist state socialism, in 1994 became anarchist. 28.11.1994 the marxist PM & Co's effort to break the domestic megatrend towards anarchy, by establishing over national bureaucracy, was crushed by the EU-referendum. The Brussels-gang had to return, the Norwegian system made a revolutionary change, and passed the border to the anarchist quadrant on the EP map. 28.11.1995 marked one year of anarchy in Norway. The coordinates 55% socialism and 52% autonomy on the EP map, indicate the actual situation of the Norwegian economic political

system after the EU referendum in 1994. The system is still more socialist than capitalist, and more autonomous than statist, although a bit distant from the ideal at the top of the map; see FB 4[24],1-4[25],1-2[26] and later issues, as well as at "AIIS and Anarchy in Norway" at the AIIS homepage on the WWW-Internet.

V. The middlepoint of the map is defined as the turningpoint where the influence on the societal management and coordination seen all in all, aggregated, shifts from a) more from the bottom, the people, and upwards - than from the top downwards to the bottom, i.e. fifty - fifty, economical and politica/administrative, to b) the opposite - more from the top - the authorities, towards the bottom - the grassroots, economical and/or political/administrative. In other words the middlepoint is where the different forms of archies with respect to social organization turns over (revolts) to anarchy. Societies, organizations and social systems may shift coordinates related to the map in jumps, small jumps, steps or small steps. But any significant shift of coordinates is in reality a revolution, as reforms principally are just changes within a given system, i.e. with the same system-coordinates. A significant shift of system-coordinates may be soft as velvet, a velvet revolution, or more dramatic. Passing a border of the anarchist quadrant is in all cases a significant shift, and thus revolutionary, a small or big revolution.

Although theoretically and principally a certain and simple vector-figure may express a systems coordinates, described as a fixed point on the map at a given time, practical mapping and data may be stocastical and influenced by the methods of aggregation. Thus a system's or society's coordinates on the map, may practically be noted just as a most likely figure and/or given by a confidence area that covers the real point on the map by some given probability. And thus, close to the borders of the anarchist quadrant, the real nature of the system, whether it is anarchist or not, may be discussed, and just a most likely, not certain, conclusion may be the result of an investigation, i.e. mapping of a social system.

IV. ANARCHISM, STATE AND CAPITALISM

A. A COMMENT ON THE ECONOMIC-POLITICAL MAP

Society is public sector plus private sector. This mix is a question of convenience, i.e. it is not in itself a principally question, and public sector should not be mixed up with the concept of government, i.e. vertically organized. Grassroots public service workers are not a part of the bureaucracy/government. The two sectors may be more or less horizontally vs vertically organized, i.e. relatively small vs large rank and/or income differences. There are an economic dimension, i.e. income (remuneration), and a noneconomic dimension, constituting rank. Although income often follows rank, it is not necessarily so. Economic political systems may be based on:

1. Small income differences [= socialism] vs large [= capitalism]; and
2. Small rank differences [= autonomy] vs large [= statism].*)

Thus, there are four main forms of systems and 16 subsystems. Anarchists have discussed and suggested ideals and principles as a leading star (top of map), and anarchism is economic political systems more socialist than capitalist, and more autonomous than statist, i.e. relatively small income and rank differences. The superiors in rank and/or income in private and public sectors are for simplicity called the bureaucracy. The people are the total population minus the bureaucracy. The the tendency towards or of state, defined as a social concept, that's just the bureaucracy. *The bureaucracy organized as a ruling management , i.e. significant downwards to the people and the grassroots - and not just an insignificant tendency in this direction, is also called authority or authorities, the State as a social concept or in a societal perspective - as well as government.* However, the tendency towards or of political/administrative state, i.e. the part of the bureaucracy with subordinates in rank in their occupation (in private and public sector). *The political/administrative bureaucracy organized as a ruling management , i.e. significant downwards to the people and the grassroots - and not just an insignificant tendency in this direction, is also called political/administrative authority or authorities, the State as a political/administrative concept - as well as political/administrative government.* This is the typical concept of state in anarchist science. Differences in rank constitute the degree of statism, **see E. P. map**. In this case the economic dimension of the hierarchy is left to the concept of capitalism (plutarchy). Furthermore, this anarchist concept of tendency towards or of state, the "ranks above the grassroots", i.e. the system with superior and subordinate positions, must not be mixed up with the nonscientific "1984-newspeak" concept, interpreted as: 1. the country as a whole, which usually is a much too wide concept, and 2. the often too narrow view of the state as the federal or central public administration. By the way, any land needs coordination on country level, in some cases... (This may be done direct democratical, say, by referendum, and/or by confederal councils based on delegates with different mandates. To be anarchist the system must all on all work with more influence from the bottom, the people, upwards, than from the top downwards, ideally a perfect horizontal organization, with everybody on equal footing.)

In anarchism hierarchy is usually defined as a) "the power or rule of a hierarch or hierarchs", in the meaning of economically or political/administrative rulers and ruling, i.e. economical and political/administrative hierarchy respectively, and/or b) such rule by priests or other clergy, church government, or c) the group of officials in such systems. However the word hierarchy in the today also usual meaning of d) "any group of persons or things arranged in order of rank, grade, class, etc." is also sometimes used, and e) thus also hierarchy in the meaning of any tendency towards or of hierarchy defined as point a). Thus "significant hierarchy" in the meaning of e) is equal to hierarchy in the meaning of a). Anarchy is the negation of a) and ideal 100% anarchy is the negation of e) economically and political/administrative.

1. The economical dimension of the hierarchy is left to the concept of capitalism (plutarchy). The economical coordinate, the percentage degree of socialism, i.e. the degree of economical freedom, solidarity and equality, etc. - in short economical *democracy vs plutarchy, significant economical hierarchy* (capitalism - theft, broadly defined). Democracy means, quite simplified, "one

person - one vote", i.e. equal votes for all in the elections. Markets however mean "one dollar - one vote". Thus markets are only economically democratic and non-plutarchical as far as money or other means of payment, among other things, the purchasing powers, are significant equally distributed according to anarchist principles. And thus, markets are probably only anarchistical, i.e. real democratic, if they are publicly regulated in a libertarian way, with free contracts - not slave contracts, etc. (See also point 3.)

2. **Differences in real rank constitute the degree of statism:** The political/administrative coordinate, the percentage degree of autonomy, i.e. the degree of political/administrative freedom, solidarity and equality, etc. - in short political/administrative democracy vs **vertically organized political/administrative systems**, i.e. **statism** broadly defined, significant political/administrative hierarchy, monarchy, oligarchy, polyarchy and/or ochlarchy (mob rule) included, in both public and private sector.

3. If a economical plutarchy, i.e. the relatively rich, take over significant political/administrative hierarchy in public and private sector, a *political/administrative plutarchy* is introduced. This is a form of populism/fascism. If significant political/administrative hierarchy, say, a military junta, take over significant economical hierarchy in public and private sector, another form of fascism/populism is established. Any combination of statism combined with plutarchy (capitalism) is a form of fascism. The statism may take the form of monarchy, oligarchy, polyarchy and ochlarchy (mob rule, mafia, chaos, rivaling "states within the state", no human rights, no real law and order, real lawlessness, etc.) included, and principally also be based on political/administrative plutarchy, or combinations, in both public and private sector.

Thus, the system seen as a whole, both private and public sector included, may be more or less **economical and political/administrative bureaucratic** and hierarchical, i.e. the **state as a social concept** may be more or less big and/or top heavy, i.e. **significant vis-à-vis the people - or not:** If significant hierarchy - economically it means capitalism, economical plutarchy; and/or political/administrative it means statism, i.e. a political/administrative state. The **state as a social concept is present** if the degree of **statism, political/administrative** is above 50%, **and/or** the degree of **economical plutarchy/capitalism** is above 50%. Thus, if the state is present as a social concept, it is either political/administrative government/authority or economical government/authority, or both, which is populism/fascism.

A social, economic-political system with free and fair elections of mandated representatives or delegates, usually called democracy, may function more from the top downwards, significant vertically organized, centralist or the opposite, from bottom upwards, significant horizontally organized, federalist, i.e. anarchy. Thus all anarchies are democracies but everything called democracy is not necessarily anarchist or anarchy. Many so called representative democracies may work more from the top downwards than the opposite, from the bottom upwards, and thus are not real democracies, anarchies, but archies. Thus anarchy is always democracy but not all democracies are anarchist, i.e. some democracies are archies, anarchy is as mentioned real democracy. Anarchy is just minor part of, a subset of, the total amount of democracy, because not all

democracies are anarchies, real democratic. A lot of conditions must usually be fulfilled to secure that a democracy is a real democracy, i.e. anarchy. A lot of people's organizations broadly defined, a free press, i.e. not the 4th power of the State, dialog and free, matter of fact, criticism, all organized significantly according to anarchist principles, is a necessity. The existence of a sufficient amount of real alternatives, and a general balance of strength, significant stopping power in the meaning of domination, economical and political/administrative in public and private sectors, may also be mentioned.

A real scientific, i.e. a non-dogmatic anarchist way of thinking, as opposed to populist/fascist and relativist, marxist dialectical and liberalist more or less metaphysical way of thinking, is another important thing. By real scientific, we mean using the natural scientific method broadly defined, thinking principally and that hypothesis may be rejected, also taking into account realistic future scenarios related to different alternatives and actions, costs and benefits. Thus thinking, say, if this and that are the conditions, and these are the alternative actions, what are the probable alternative outcomes, - and then decide what actions are best, real democratic i.e. **what is in the interest of the less beneficial majority of the population**, the **people** vs the authorities and upper classes. "Best arguments win" and to get "competence effectively and fair through in the system" are benchmarks in this context. To criticize the present proposals and situations **without** having a clearly better **realistic alternative**, is quite useless. For higher degrees of anarchy, usually different forms of co-operatives and federalist direct democracy organized according to anarchist principles are important parts of the economic-political system.

The media discuss political mapping, but sometimes a bit confused, because of lack of logical, scientific structure. This may reflect a lack of structure in political science, due to an empirical, and sometimes party political, approach. Anarchist analysis and research are based on a nomothetical approach as conceptual framework, and thus a more logical structure, illustrated by the economic political map. To understand the nature of economic political systems, theoretical and empirical, the following is an important theorem:

(1) If a system moves rightwards from the upper, i.e. advanced, part of the social democrat sector, the system reaches the anarchist sector of social individualism.

(2) And if it moves sufficient further right, it reaches the social liberal sector.

(3) Thus, such an anarchist system is found in the middle between an advanced social democrat system and a social liberal.

Anarchism is typically found in the middle, and not, say far left or right. The above mentioned type of anarchy is not the ideal form with a degree of anarchy = 100%, at the top of the map. But still it is significant degree of anarchy.

To put it simple, anarchism is freedom without harming other peoples freedom, not freedom at others expense, economic and political broadly defined. This resolution should also be seen in the context of earlier AIT & ANORG-IFA material. A further movement upwards on the E.P. map, i.e.

1) even more socialism & autonomy, coordinate & self managed people, efficiency & fairness; and

2) less income & rank differences, subordinate & superior positions; is requested and strongly recommended.

B. An axiomatic approach to the principles of anarchy, anarchism and social sciences in general.

(1) Anarchies vs archies. Societal, political-economical systems, including organizations and political tendencies; economical, political or politological, sociological and anthropological systems, may be anarchies or the negation of anarchy = archies. Thus the total amount of societal systems $S = \text{anarchy} + \text{archy} \Leftrightarrow S = \text{anarchies} + \text{archies}$. Anarchy = anarchism, with respect to societal systems broadly defined.

(2) Archies may be expressed as x-archy, where x is one of a set of systems characteristics of archs, say, (mon, olig, poly, plut, ochl, matri, patri, hier, etc; but not an) or a logical union of several x-es reflecting different forms of archy/archies as opposed to anarchy/anarchies, i.e. the negation of x-archy = archies.

(3) Possibility of anarchy. It is assumed that these terms reflect concepts that may be defined in a way that anarchy is not impossible in reality, i.e. the amount of anarchies in real terms is greater than the empty set, zero. Anarchy is matter of degree = tendency. Anarchy, i.e. an anarchist social system, may have 100% or a significant degree of anarchy, i.e. less than 100%, but above a given significant level.

(4) Significant anarchist tendency = anarchy. As anarchy is the negation of x-archy it may not have any amount, i.e. significant tendency towards or of x-archy. Thus anarchy may have zero or insignificant tendency towards or of archies. The significant level is defined on aggregated dimensions.

(5) Dimensions: a) There are an economic dimension and a non-economical dimension in societal, political-economical, system context: One aggregated economical, and one aggregated non-economical dimension, i.e. political/administrative rank broadly defined. Empirically this reflect economic remuneration and political/administrative rank of organizational social systems' maps broadly defined. b) The economical dimension measures socialism vs capitalism, where the degree of capitalism is the tendency towards or of economical archies (x-archy) and the non-economical dimension is autonomy vs statism, where the degree of statism is the tendency towards or of political/administrative archies. c) Along these two dimensions different forms of anarchy and archies (x-archy), are measured and mapped. The degree of socialism = 100% - degree of capitalism. The degree of autonomy = 100% - degree of statism. Socialism and autonomy are defined as insignificant degree of capitalism and statism respectively, and capitalism and statism is defined as significant degree of statism and capitalism respectively. Thus, socialism and autonomy are defined as significant degree of socialism and autonomy, and capitalism and statism are defined as insignificant degree of socialism and autonomy respectively .

(6) Anarchism and other -isms. Anarchy is the negation of archies related to the economical and political/administrative dimensions, i.e. socialism and autonomy. Capitalism is economical plutarchy, including hierarchy and may be other x-archies broadly defined in an economical context. Statism is political/administrative monarchy, oligarchy, polyarchy, ochlarchy (mob rule), the archies of rivaling states within the state, i.e. chaos; and the tyranny of structurelessness i.e. disorganization, and/or political plutarchy, and it may also

include other archies, say, being matriarchy, if the main rulers are women. Furthermore

1. Statism without plutarchy = marxism ((state-) communism, state-socialism);
2. statism plus plutarchy = fascism (populism included);
3. socialism without statism = anarchy = anarchism;
4. plutarchy without statism = liberalism.

Libertarian (in the meaning of 'libertaire' (french) or 'libertær' (nordic)), and real democracy (realdemocracy) are synonyms for anarchist, anarchy and anarchism. Anarchy and anarchism are sometimes called the third alternative, social form, or way. (This must not be mixed up with Tony Blair's non-anarchist "third way = neue mitte" of Gerard Schröder, or Adolf Hitler's "dritte reich".)

Archies (x-archy) are defined equal to authority and State in societal context. Thus authority and State in societal context are liberalism, fascism and marxism broadly defined. And thus anarchy and anarchism are systems without any authority and State, in societal context, i.e. economical and political/administrative, also called political broadly defined. (These societal, political concepts of state and authority, must not be mixed up with statism and the authoritarian degree, as defined related to economical-political mapping. Furthermore insignificant tendency towards or of State is not State, and insignificant tendency towards or of authority is not authority, but anarchy and anarchism. In anarchism hierarchy is usually defined as a) "the power or rule of a hierarch or hierarchs", in the meaning of economically or political/administrative rulers and ruling, i.e. economical and political/administrative hierarchy respectively, and/or b) such rule by priests or other clergy, church government, or c) the group of officials in such systems. However the word hierarchy in the today also usual meaning of d) "any group of persons or things arranged in order of rank, grade, class, etc." is also sometimes used, and e) thus also hierarchy in the meaning of any except a minimal tendency towards or of hierarchy defined as point a). Thus "significant hierarchy" in the meaning of e) is equal to hierarchy in the meaning of a). Anarchy is the negation of a) and ideal 100% anarchy is the negation of e) economically and political/administrative.)

(7) Significant level at 50%. Anarchy has less than 50% tendencies towards or of archies, x-archy, aggregated on the two relevant dimensions, on a scale from 0 => 100%. Thus more than 50 % tendencies towards or of archies, x-archy of relevant x-es, aggregated on the economic and/or the non-economic dimension, are not anarchist, not anarchy. Thus anarchy has 100-50% degree of socialism and 100-50% degree of autonomy, and archies have less of one or both, i.e. more than 50% degree of capitalism and/or statism.

(8) Anarchy defined: Anarchy and anarchism mean system, coordination and management without ruling and rulers (not without rules). i.e. co-operation without repression, tyranny and slavery, and archies mean system, management and coordination with ruling and rulers, i.e. the negation of anarchy and anarchism. From greek 'an', as in anaerobe vs aerobe, i.e. keeping what is essential of the object, (in this case system, management, coordination) but without the special characteristic mentioned in the suffix, i.e. 'arch', ruling and ruler(s), from archos (ruler) and archein (ruling, being first).

(9) Not totalitarian: The question of anarchism and anarchy vs archies is limited to the societal political-economical systems' management and coordination. What is interesting in anarchist perspective is whether or not the economical-political system has authority, i.e. ruling and rulers - or not, with respect to the societal management and coordination. Other uses of the words anarchy vs x-archy and anarchies vs archies are principally irrelevant to anarchism, and should in general be avoided.

(10) Not valid concepts. Concepts as anarcho-archy = anarchy-x-archy in any form, meaning system, coordination and management "both with and without ruling and rulers" at the same time and place, are not allowed for, because such concepts are contradictory, and thus are nonsense and not logical and scientific, because this is in reality not possible, and anarchism and anarchy is about realities. Thus anarcho-marxism, anarcho-capitalism = anarchy-plutarchy, anarcho-ochlarchy, anarcho-chaos, anarchy = chaos, anarchism = anarchy = minimal state or libertarian state, state in general, anarcho-statism, anarcho-authority, etc, are nonsense and not valid concepts, but confused Orwellian "1984" "newspeak" that is not anarchist, but authoritarian, i.e. chaotic, and should be avoided.

In addition to these axioms and most basic principles of social sciences, anarchy and anarchism and other -isms, other principles of policy defining authority more precise and concrete in a societal context, structural and functional included, must be introduced, and the significant level of anarchy degree vs archies must be calibrated for applied and practical research and analysis. This is discussed other places on this file, search for 'calibration' and 'principles'.

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V. NOTES

A. PRIVATE PROPERTY RIGHTS VS POSSESSION IN ANARCHIST LAW

The idea of socialism vs capitalism as "common vs private property right to the means of production" must not be superficially interpreted:

Private property right to the means of production means exclusive rights to dominate others economically, a system with large income differences, based on privileges or so called free, capitalist markets, i.e. plutarchy, and thus not anarchy or anarchist. Common or collective property right to the means of production is the negation of this, i.e. a system with small income differences.

Thus, common property right to the means of production must not be mixed up with public sector, since it may include co-operatives, markets, private rightful possession, self employed and private sector enterprise in general, i.e. if regulated compatible with small income differences.

On the other hand, public sector may sometimes have a rich bureaucracy with exclusive rights as mentioned above, and thus be capitalist (public sector plutarchy).

A similar notion is valid for the degree of statism vs autonomy.

The most important is the overall economic political balances of strength, not the private vs public sector & plan vs market mix.

Property in the classical meaning, i.e. capitalist and/or statist, and thus related to large economic or political/administrative rank differences, is theft, i.e. not anarchist, and should be prohibited by law and abolished. To avoid getting

mixed up with capitalism and statism, instead of the word **property**, anarchists mainly use the term **possession** , i.e. **in the meaning of owned in a rightful, non-criminal, non-statist and non-capitalist way, and thus related to small economic and political/administrative rank differences.**

Anarchist laws, according to the principles of social justice and the negation of juridical laws, should be decided by the people, direct democratic or by delegates, and compatible with anarchist principles in general, **human rights included, rooted back to natural law.** Juridical laws mainly mean decided by authorities, lawyers, the mob, etc., i.e. authoritarian laws. As an example, most of the laws in Norway are non-authoritarian, there are however also some authoritarian laws, because the degree of anarchy is only ca 53-54%, i.e. significant anarchist, but not ideal. Thus, the law and court system of anarchy is quite similar to other democratic law and court systems, only less authoritarian, and more reflecting human rights (interpreted in an anarchist, non-authoritarian way). The International Anarchist Tribunals of I.F.A./A.I. are a special branch of anarchist law and court systems, see <http://www.anarchy.no/iat.html> .

B. NOTES ON MAPPING - COLORS, GRAPHICAL AND ALGEBRAIC NOTIONS - STATISTICS

Anarchism means without government (in the meaning of vertically organized, economic and/or political/administrative), which is anything that is not anarchy related to the economic political map, i.e. marxism, liberalism or fascism, chaos included. Anarchist systems of social organization are found in the main quadrant of anarchism on the map, and different forms of government (arch-) systems are located in the main quadrants of marxism, fascism or liberalism.

Anarchist systems may be more or less close to the anarchist ideal at the top of the map, i.e. without government at 100% or somewhat less degree of anarchy, i.e. within the anarchist quadrant. Furthermore, it reflects being without hierarchy in the meaning of large rank and/or income differences, practically or ideally, i.e. ordinary vs perfect horizontal organization respectively.

Anarchy is coordination on equal footing, without superiors and subordinates, i.e. horizontal organization and co-operation without coercion. This means practically or ideally, i.e. ordinary vs perfect horizontal organization respectively. Thus, anarchy means without government, which is different forms of vertically organized, i.e. chaotic included, economic and/or political-administrative relations among people (and **not** always the same as public sector. A significant horizontally organized public sector **may** be necessary to achieve ca 100% anarchy. The private vs public sector mix should be decided according to implementation of anarchist principles and is in itself not a principally question. Say, some collectivistical anarchosyndicalists have a working hyphotesis about close to 100% public sector, while some individualistic anarchists have hypothesis about close to 100% private sector. The most of the anarchists operate with middle solutions, but of course not significantly vertically organized.)

The concepts and different perspectives of anarchism are defined in real terms with

- the IFA-principles, the Economic-Political map, the Oslo-convention, etc., and
- as **anarchy vs other -archies** , - i.e.

1. The economical coordinate, the percentage degree of socialism, i.e. the degree of economical freedom, solidarity and equality, etc. - in short economical *democracy vs plutarchy*, significant economical hierarchy (capitalism - theft, broadly defined). Democracy means, quite simplified, "one person - one vote", i.e. equal votes for all in the elections. Markets however mean "one dollar - one vote". Thus markets are only economically democratic as far as money or other means of payment, among other things, the purchasing powers, are significant equally distributed according to anarchist principles. And thus, markets are probably only anarchistical, i.e. real democratic, if they are publicly regulated in a libertarian way, with free contracts - not slave contracts, etc. (See also point 3.)

2. The political coordinate, the percentage degree of autonomy, i.e. the degree of political/administrative freedom, solidarity and equality, etc. in short political/administrative democracy vs vertically organized political/administrative systems, i.e. statism broadly defined, significant political/administrative hierarchy, monarchy, oligarchy, polyarchy and ochlarchy (mob rule) included, in both public and private sector.

3. If a significant economical plutarchy, i.e. the relatively rich, take over significant political/administrative hierarchy in public and private sector, a *political/administrative plutarchy* is introduced. This is a form of populism/fascism. If significant political/administrative hierarchy, say, a military junta, take over significant economical hierarchy in public and private sector, another form of fascism/populism is established. Any combination of statism combined with plutarchy(capitalism) is a form of fascism. The statism may take the form of monarchy, oligarchy, polyarchy and ochlarchy (mob rule, mafia, chaos, no human rights, no real law and order, real lawlessness, etc.) included, and principally also be based on political/administrative plutarchy, or combinations, in both public and private sector.

The different systems on the map may be associated with different colors and flags/banners. The **colors** or **flags/banners** associated to the map may be a useful pedagogical tool, but of course are symbols that are less important than statistical and mathematical analysis, scientifically seen. And the use of colors/flags in mapping of political tendencies should **not** be expanded to a totalitarian quasicultural system of symbolism, used to **uniform** clothing, fashion, housing, etc., say, such as black or black/red outfit and gear are seen as particularly anarchist a.s.o..

Fascism may take on different forms dependent on the authoritarian degree, populism included, i.e. **dark brown, brown and light brown** systems respectively. To the left within the fascist quadrant a slight tendency of red, to the right a slight tendency or dash of blue should be accounted for. **Brown-striped** similar to light brown tendencies has been used.

Usual colors are, in addition to the **brown for authoritarian**, is **red for socialism** and **blue for liberalism**, plus dashes of **black for libertarian**. Dashes of **green for environmental** management may be accounted for. If about optimal. this policy is progressive, say, i.e. a red & black policy with green added, but environmental policy may also be exaggerated and/or combined with authoritarian tendencies, and be brown & green, etc. In a similar way **pink for feminism** may be used, combined with black/red for

anarchofeminism, and the opposite, with more or less brown, in case of matriarchy, authoritarian feminism. A green color may also be used for kids, as opposed to the grown up people. The anarchist youth also use the special "a in circle" logo with a black flag, as opposed to the usual black and red flag of grown up anarchists. It must be mentioned that also some marxists, marxist syndicalists included, may use a black & red flag, to pose as libertarian to cover up for marxist authoritarian tendencies and provoke. Nazigroups posing as anarchists have used the swastika in combination with red & black flag to make chaos and provoke.

Further to the left outside the fascist quadrant, with more than 67% authoritarian degree on the map, we have still very much statism, that may take on different forms, but without plutarchy. These systems are red and brown. To the right with more than 67% authoritarian degree, we have plutarchist/capitalist systems, without statism, but very authoritarian forms of plutarchy, i.e. blue and brown systems.

Light brown tendencies with red to the left and blue to the right are found between 50% authoritarian degree and 67%. They are typically parliamentary, indirect democratic systems, with more influence from the top downwards, than from the bottom upwards, i.e. not real democracy/anarchist, and have a significant authoritarian degree, but not totalitarian/dictatorships. Close to the middle the colors are more pale/light.

With less than 50% authoritarian degree, outside the anarchist quadrant, we find semilibertarian systems, to the left, i.e. red without brown, and to the right, blue without brown, with dashes of black close to the anarchist borderlines, and more pale/light towards the middle. **The anarchist systems are associated with red and/or black flags and banners, and green has been added in an environmental context, and pink for feminism. A red background with black stars has also been used. Close to the liberalist border a dash of blue/violet has been used.** The same has been used for semilibertarian capitalism, but should be more blue.

These are today the main uses of colors related to the economical-political map. (In addition to this **yellow** has sometimes been used politically as symbol for treason, an authoritarian tendency, used as swearword for people/organizations/systems turning to be more than 67% authoritarian, or turning from socialism to capitalism. This may be taken into account on the map, say, as yellow stripes, together with the relevant basic colors mentioned above. Yellow has also been used for "pest and plague", and could thus also be used to indicate **ochlarchical tendencies**. Furthermore yellow has been used to indicate **rule by priests, hierarchy** in the original meaning. **Rainbow flags** have been used by different groups, sometimes as symbol for **pluralism and colorful fellowship**. This may be combined with the basic colors if relevant. Other colors and symbols may of course also be introduced as stripes or other signs in special cases, but generally speaking the basic colors mentioned above are what is going to be used without further explanation at the AIIS web-pages.

To have a consistent and firm use of the colors, may as indicated above be a useful tool, pedagogically and didactically. Although principally other colors may be used, the mentioned colors and use has an historical context. The practice mentioned above also rejects the use of black as color for unlawful,

criminal and fascist tendencies, which is inconsistent with the above approach, and only make confusion. Inconsistencies are not pedagogical and scientific, and should be avoided. Say, **"black" market** for criminal business should not be used, but "brown & blue plus yellow" for illegal capitalist markets, and "brown & red plus yellow" for corruption in marxist regimes, or just **brown markets** instead.

These choices of colors are as mentioned related to historical practice. To put something more into it, say, red for blood, black for earth, brown for dirt, blue for sky, etc, or more metaphorical; red for freedom, black for sorrow or land, etc. is not relevant in this context, as the colors here are used in a nomothetical perspective, and it is thus not very interesting to try to trace the historical origins, if any particular reasons exists for the choices of color at all. Perhaps these origins are quite random, more or less a function of what is already "occupied", and a need to find something else, not to be mixed up with other political tendencies or other problems.)

Anarchy and anarchism mean real democracy, economical and political/administrative, in private and public sector, i.e. all in all more influence from the people - the bottom - upwards, than from the top, downwards. **The economic and the political/administrative coordinates should ideally be estimated in the best way, reflecting all relevant facts, aggregated in the most relevant way:**

1. An estimate of economic democracy vs capitalism (plutarchy), and
2. political/administrative democracy vs statism.

The degree of anarchy is indicated by the formula of anarchism, see homepage or click on <http://www.anarchy.no/formula.html> . There are several formulas at the mentioned web-page, but it is in reality just several ways to express the same mathematical relation between anarchy, the libertarian, socialism and autonomy, and the consistent negation; authority, statism and capitalism. Because the degree of anarchy is only defined within the anarchist quadrant on the map, we logically get several interpretations of the same mathematical relation. **The map may be seen as a graphic representation of the formulas, or the formulas, as a mathematical representation of the map. Thus, to think that the map is valid, but not the formulas, or vice versa, is absurd.** Both are equally valid! You can't have one without the other, in the sense that the same equations are expressed in graphical and algebraic 'language' respectively. It must always be possible to say something reasonable about how authoritarian a society or system is, and if it has significant anarchist degree or not. But of course, due to possible different interpretations of the concepts of socialism and autonomy, and calibrations of the map, the coordinates of a system will be a bit uncertain, and may be discussed. This discussion however, to be so scientific and objective as possible, should probably always be done within the framework of the economical-political map. The calibration of the map should principally not be done by using subjective feelings about how authoritarian systems may be felt, in the sense that the map is mainly designed to be used in an objective way.

The middle point of the map should be calibrated according to the general idea that it indicates where systems "tip over" from *more influence from the top downwards*, to the opposite, *more influence from*

the people, the bottom, upwards, so the top, the bureaucracy broadly defined, mainly, i.e. more than 50% - significant, is acting as servants of the people, and not the other way around, - accounting for what is really going on in the society. Principally, this is not problematic to map, economically and political/administrative, but it may of course involve a lot of practical questions to solve, similar to the problems with national accounting in macro-economics. A special problem is connected to "objective" indicated as "intersubjectivity" in this matter, search in this file for these words to see what are meant. Other calibrations, more subjective, are also possible. This is discussed more other places in this file, search for "calib" to see the results.

It is also possible to add more dimensions to the map. Say, a separate cultural dimension has been discussed on international congresses and seminars. However, so far the conclusion is, that it is better to aggregate the cultural, as well as the environmental, juridical, diplomatic, military, etc, dimensions into the economical and political/administrative dimensions broadly defined, rather than try to see them as **separate** dimensions in libertarian vs authoritarian perspective. Thus a libertarian culture is a culture of small rank and income differences, etc., i.e. organized broadly defined according to anarchist principles. **And thus, a libertarian culture is a culture reflecting libertarian values and principles, not a particular lifestyle and taste for food, music, clothing, housing, symbolism, etc, say, what is "in" and what is "out".** Thus, a libertarian culture may principally be multi-towards mono-cultural, but *not* authoritarian and intolerant in practice, organizationally, broadly defined. Tolerance should of course not be mixed ip with pluralist-extremisme, i.e. accepting more than 67% authoritarian, totalitarian *practice*, in the name of cultural pluralism. **The freedom of speech must however of course be close to 100%. It is *deeds*, not words, that determine what are extremistical authoritarian practices in a social organizational context. Authoritarian propaganda, say, contradictive mixes of anarchy and chaos, must however be criticized in a relevant, matter of fact, way, as, say, by the use of Anarchist Press Tribunals.**

Of course we have paintings, songs, poems, literature, plays and movies with more or less directly anarchist political content, say, in some of Henrik Ibsen's, Arne Garborg's, Piet Hein's and Jens Bjørneboe's works, movies and TV-programs from, say, "Sacco and Vanzetti" to the "manufacturing of consent" (Chomsky) , the satirical anarcho-punk rock-opera "Grax", a.s.o. But a libertarian culture should never be defined as narrow as that, i.e. limited to anarchist politics directly. The Soviet repressive "social-realism", and the Chinese-Maoist ochlarchical "culture revolution" in art and culture broadly defined, remind us that such a narrow "political correct" quasi-libertarian culture concept is authoritarian, not anarchist. The cultural life should clearly be artistically free, within the broad framework of close to 100% freedom of expression, although avoiding totalitarian practice, i.e. with more than 67% authoritarian degree. Thus, say, although the punk-band "Sex Pistols" in their song "Anarchy in the UK" just promoted the authoritarian travesty of "anarchy" and "anarchism", better (read: worse) than any authority could have done, and thus fooling a lot of youths of what anarchy and anarchism really are about, the

International Anarchist Tribunal has never given the Sex Pistols a Brown Card. However the "useful" idiots of Lenin and other authorities, that take the chaotic "program" of the "Sex Pistols" literally as a framework for political action, both deserve and have gotten Brown Cards from the tribunal.

Mathematically a multi- or n-dimensional perspective on the formula of anarchism is not a big problem, but the graphical mapping cannot have more than 3-dimensions. Both the principle of Occam's razor, and the essential idea of two main tendencies of socialism as well as capitalism, i.e. the statist and the autonomous types, suggest that two dimensions are the most scientifically correct. Thus, remembering that a multi-dimensional theory is possible, and not principally rejected, we will so far stick to the basically two-dimensional approach of the E.P. map, but be open for use of more dimensions in special cases.

The map mathematically expressed, i.e. the formulas of the map and its areas, including inequalities, equations and definition intervals and areas, is a kind of ecocirc and ecocircular relations, as defined by Ragnar Frisch in his econometrical research broadly defined. Thus, they are a kind of **accounting formulas** and equipped with a fully consistent set of relevant data they will always, if tested statistically, say, by regression analysis, give 100% correlation. Thus, seen purely statistical, they are 100% certain, and thus more certain than, say, Einstein's well known $E = Mc^2$. If not 100% correlation occurs by a properly calculated regression analysis, there is some fault in the data, inconsistencies, and **not** faults in the relations. The relations are based on political assumptions, however in a kind of objective and symmetrical or balanced way, not just subjective meanings about the system. Thus, the mapping of a system's coordinates on the Economical-political map, and movements over time, it is principally a mapping of objective, measurable characteristics of the flows and circulations of influence on the management and coordination from the people's perspective, or similar.

1. By using mathematical set theory, mathematical relations, equations, identities and inequalities, and mathematical logics and deduction, the whole theory of the EP-map may be expressed as a mathematical general framework and accounting system for research, discussion and mapping of the coordinates of a system with respect to the given dimensions, socialism, autonomy, capitalism, statism, dictatorship, democracy, real democracy, anarchy, anarchism, liberalism, fascism, marxism, authority, state, people, authoritarian, semilibertarian, libertarian, parliamentary, influence and decision processes and its flows and circulation between the members of society, these concepts seen nomothetically and universal.

The concept of influence may be defined and measured in different ways, and is probably correlated with they who take the decisions in different matters, but sometimes other persons have influence on the ones taking the decisions, although not taking these decisions themselves, say, by different forms of direct actions making an influence on the ones in charge in the matter. Thus, to map the circulation of influence in a very detailed way, may principally demand a lot of research, similar to, say, national economic accounting, measuring the Gross National Product and similar. However a more general overview of a systems coordinates may be relatively easy to achieve, say, a) in a way similar to the

United Nations human development index, HDI, or b) based on a survey of different groups and persons opinions of the coordinates of systems, investigated in different ways within the framework of the map, via the exact formulas, or an approximation. As in any econometrical investigation, "garbage in means garbage out", or as Henrik Ibsen said "Når utgangspunktet er som galest, blir tit resultatet originalest", meaning wrong data may give strange results with respect to systems' coordinates on the map.

The basic principle of calibration, also called **standard calibration** of the Economical Political map, is a) that fifty-fifty influence by the people vs the authorities, i.e. bureaucracy, on the relevant economical matters defines 50% socialism = 50 % capitalism, and b) that fifty-fifty influence by the people vs the authorities, i.e. bureaucracy, on the relevant political/administrative matters defines 50% autonomy = 50 % statism. And thus the **middle point of the Economical Political map**, i.e. both 50% socialism, capitalism, autonomy and statism, means fifty-fifty influence by the people vs the authorities both on the economical and the political/administrative dimensions and relevant matters. In practice several factors may be taken into account when calibrating the model in a standard way, say, the political sectors and other areas specified on the map, and different indicators related to political/administrative rank and economical income-differences (principally the utility or welfare) and other anarchist principles defining the aggregated two basic dimensions on the Economical Political map.

It is also possible to use other, i.e. **not** standard calibrations of the Economical Political map, by different **transformation functions**, similar to measuring temperature by using either Fahrenheit or Celsius or Kelvin degrees, the transformation functions being mathematical relations to transfer data of other calibrations back to the standard calibration, in a similar way as Fahrenheit or Celsius degrees may be transformed to Kelvin degrees as a standard. Say, the midpoint of the Economical Political map, i.e. 50% socialism, capitalism, autonomy and statism, may be defined as a) less than fifty percent influence by the people vs the authorities on the economical and political/administrative matters, or b) more than fifty percent influence by the people vs the authorities on the economical and political/administrative matters, in a symmetrical way, or not. Say, if the people are "allergic" to authority, they may subjectively mean calibration b) is defining the middle point, i.e. 50% socialism, capitalism, autonomy and statism. If the people are very positive to authority, they may subjectively mean calibration a) is defining the middle point, i.e. 50% socialism, capitalism, autonomy and statism. Thus, say, if people in general become more "allergic" to authority over time, the case b) is increasing, **even** if the system based on standard calibration (or another fixed calibration) objectively becomes more anarchist, they may still, falsely, say the system becomes more authoritarian.

On the other hand, authorities, say, by Orwellian "1984" newspeak, authoritarian indoctrinating people with ideas of type a) increasingly, may manufacture a consent, as Noam Chomsky says, that the system is libertarian, and even more and more anarchist over time, even if it is objectively being more and more authoritarian, if using the standard calibration and objectively analysing the real influence ecocirc. In general such tendencies must be

stopped, if any, by more objective research about the influence of the people on the societal management and coordination, production and distribution, and, free, matter of fact, criticism and dialog about the estimates of the coordinates of the systems and this research and methods in general. If this is not done in an efficient way, anarchism and analysis using the Economical Political map, may develop into a false, pseudoscientific accounting of the coordinates of the system and society, a tool in the hands of authority to rule the people, where authoritarian ruling is hidden behind libertarian rhetorics and false figures showing a high degree of anarchy, but in reality if using the standard calibration on objective data the coordinates are going downwards on the map towards dictatorship and fundamentalist chaotic ruling. Thus, such false use of the Economical Political map will be a kind of Orwellian "1984" double thinking, a political, authoritarian pseudoscientific enronism.

Opposition groups, say, trying to make a coup d'etat, may use the opposite form of false use of the map, trying to fool people to think that a real libertarian system is authoritarian and chaotic, to get backing for establishing themselves as a new authority.

In general research to reveal such authoritarian pseudoscientific use of the Economical Political map, to make false estimates of the coordinates of the political economical system, is by mapping the changes in the transformation functions used to change the calibration, and transform the false, biased estimates back to standard calibration, in a similar way as real economical figures is estimated by deflating nominal data by the inflation rate.

In 2002 some people mean the Norwegian system seen all in all objectively has been more anarchist than ca 53% since 1994/95, and also have an increasing degree of anarchy over time, indicating ca 54-55% anarchy may be the case now. IIFOR estimates about 53% anarchy since 1994/95 is most realistic, and is referring to both several own and other related research, say, the UN Human development index, where Norway is estimated to be best country to live in. A few say the economical political system of Norway is less anarchist, if not authoritarian, and getting worse, i.e. more authoritarian over time. Most anarchists however mean these negative persons are quite 'allergic' to authority, and thus not reliable in an objective way using the standard calibration for analysis. As the practical applied implementation of the standard calibration, selecting indicators and aggregation methods etc, may be done in several different ways, say, similar to the discussion of the measurement of the UN human development index, HDI. Thus, there will probably always be some methodological uncertainty, although not being biased, in addition to possible uncertainty in statistical data, and thus the estimates of the coordinates of an Economical Political system may in general be relatively uncertain figures. This uncertainty however does not make such investigations less interesting. It only indicates the results could be discussed more.

It is also principally possible to use the framework on nonhuman, animal life, especially social animals, as apes and ants, and thus it is clear that the map does not take a stand vis-a-vis whether the individuals are lead or decide actions by instincts, predetermined, or more or less based on free will and/or choice, determined or random, or a relevant mix. Thus the framework is general, principal and universal, and may also be used on more or less social lifeforms in

outer space, in case they exist. This also indicates that the degree of democracy may have different interpretations or meaning with respect to freedom in a more philosophical perspective.

Usually in the investigations of a societal system's coordinates on the economical political map, we don't discuss philosophical questions related to societal management explicitly. Persons believing that materialistical dialectical forces, astrology, Adam Smith's "invisible hand", gods or devils etc. have influence on the system, must themselves take into account how such things may affect coordinates of the societal system, in case they think such things are relevant. In general believing in predeterminism and similar ideas will probably reduce the degree of real democracy and the libertarian seen subjectively, i.e. indicating an opinion about less real influence on the societal management and coordination by the people. But if the influence of such forces, if any, are equally distributed on all persons, the coordinates on the economic political system will probably not be affected. These questions are discussed somewhat in the philosophical introduction in next chapter, but is of little to no interest for practical mapping of the economical-political systems of human societies, and is thus omitted here. While non-human, social animals have a genetically very fixed economical-political system, and cannot change the system's coordinates by themselves, humans change their systems' coordinates by own actions.

Thus, historically and today the human societies of the different countries on earth have different authoritarian degree, some are more democratic and egalitarian, and some are more authoritarian or dictatorship. The analyses of economical-political systems' coordinates are just a scientific way of estimating the degree of the authoritarian vs the democratic, socialism and autonomy, etc., within the framework of the Economical-Political map. Thus, we just take into account that humans have more freedom of choice and is not predetermined in the same strict way as apes and ants, with respect to political economical systems, i.e. the human societal systems may be **changed** by the humans political/administrative and economical actions, and is not genetically predetermined as, say, the societies of baboons, the seemingly more libertarian treeapes, or ants and bees. Humans may change their economical-political systems' coordinates by their own actions, say, towards less vs more authoritarian degree, while even the societal systems of advanced apes as baboons and the seemingly more libertarian treeapes only is dependent on physical environment and genetical factors, and be changed only over very long time via mutations and natural selection, in a natural biotop.

Of course **analogies** from nonhuman animal life, in a social darwinistical "mutual fight, and survival of the fittest" way, or the opposite "mutual aid and co-operation" and best survival this way, analogy, have no significant scientific value in human society, and must thus be avoided, and rejected as pseudoscience. It must also be mentioned that Kropotkin's principle of using the scientific method of the natural sciences in social research implicates that such analogies must be avoided, and thus Kropotkin's works on mutual aid in nature, must of course not be interpreted analogical as 'natural' for the human society. The purpose of the investigations of "mutual aid" by Kropotkin was a.o.t. to cut the biased basis for social darwinistical analogies falsely used in

social sciences and politics, by pointing out that mutual aid was also an important tendency in nature. But by stating the principle of using the general methods of modern natural sciences in social sciences and anarchism as well as politics, Kropotkin principally also rejected to use any **analogies** from natural sciences in general, including analogies based on mutual aid. Analogies and metaphores may inspire towards new working hypothesis in social sciences, but standing alone and as such have no scientific value.

Any economical-political, i.e. producing and/or distributing - system is assumed axiomatically to have one and only one coordinate on the map, principally noted as a fixed, certain, definite point, in the basic form represented as a two dimensional vector, that may move around over time, in jumps or small steps, including principally the possibility of infinitesimal small steps, i.e. continuously. This is seen principally, theoretically and practically in fiction, virtual reality, political programs, etc. and the systems of the real, material world. This statement expresses the existence of a system's coordinates as a fixed, certain point on the economical-political map.

2. The next step is **practical mapping, econometrical** (or similar called sociometrical or politicometrical) **research**, i.e. trying to locate the coordinates of a given society or system in space and time on the EP-map. This will basically A. depend on the system's own characteristics and B. on the calibration of the map. Thus, we may use a) the fifty-fifty influence from the people upwards vs the authorities downwards definition of the middle point of the map, or b) another principal calibration of the middle point. The functions of deviations from the midpoint related to the percentage scale must also principally be defined. Important indicators as rank and income differences may be very big, say, when one unit has all income or power, and the others none, and this must be taken into account when calibrating the map and defining ca 100% authoritarian degree. For practical analysis it is usually not necessary to define the corners of the map exact, as no system will be so extreme. The relevant points or area around the midpoint must however be calibrated.

Then next, we may choose an objective approach trying to map i) the physical flows and circulation of the influence on the economical and political/administrative system from the people vs authorities perspective, or ii) map persons and/or groups impression, meaning of this matter, i.e. practically by some methods of interview. A combination of i) and ii) is also possible, and also both a) and b) may be used in a comparative analysis.

3. The result/aim of the econometrical research is principally to get a **statistical estimate** of the coordinates of the system, i.e. we must estimate I) the economical coordinate, and II) the political/administrative, combined with relevant assumptions with respect to A and B; a) or b); and i) or ii) (or as mentioned a combination). This investigation may take the form of an **iteration** process first finding out whether the system has significant socialist degree (> 50%) or not, respectively autonomy degree (> 50%) or not, and thus estimate what main **quadrant** of the four that are covering the coordinates of the system, certain or probably, and then in a similar way estimate the right **sector** of the four within the estimated quadrant covering the system, and continue in similar way for smaller areas, until the ca coordinates of the system are located. The iterations process may start on relatively crude and few but highly relevant

data, and then more detailed and broader based data may be introduced during the further iteration process.

Another way is to make one aggregated percentage **index** for the economic coordinate and one for the political/administrative, based on one or more indicators for each main index - weighted together in a relevant way. In the selection and construction of the indicators and weights, the **reliability and validity** of the different variables and statistical data must be accounted for, the mathematical form of the indicators, and the aggregation method in general are keywords with respect to optimal measurement. Principally a rather general model of the political and economical system may be used as basis for selecting the optimal indicators etc. either of the behavioral type, or just based on the relevant characteristics of performance, shedding light on the socialism and autonomy degree..

4. This framework may be combined with the mentioned iteration process or used to estimate the coordinates directly as a certain or probable figure or as a confidence area covering the real figure with a given probability, based on relevant statistical data, dependent on whether the **statistical data** used in the indicators and weights are stocastical (uncertain) or certain. The indicators may be qualitative (= 0 or 1) or quantitative, i.e. ordinaly ranked or cardinaly measures. As researchers are often left to use the 'best among the bad lot' of data, and not the optimal data from scientific point of view, the investigation of the coordinates related to a system may be a complicated puzzle, where different methods, including also a 'detective type' framework, a.o.t. using the **elimination method**, may be the case. **A general discussion of the scientific methodology of anarchism and libertarian research is found in the next chapter:**

There is as mentioned above a travesty of 'anarchism' and 'anarchy', i.e. authoritarian and not anarchist - created by authorities and authoritarians that will harm the anarchist movement, and support ruling and rulers, and their 'useful' idiots. This travesty is ochlarchy, ochlarchist and ochlarchists, **broadly defined**, i.e. mob rule and similar tendencies including terrorism, mafia and criminality, anti-archy, anti-government and similar activities and ochlarchical actions, etc, - falsely called 'anarchy', 'anarchist', 'anarchism', 'anarchists' and similar. This travesty is a completely false approach and thus 100% not consistent or compatible with anarchy and anarchism in real terms in any form, and what is anarchist and thus anarchists. Persons, societies and situations compatible to - or acting according to this authoritarian travesty, including contradictive mixes of anarchist and such authoritarian ochlarchist tendencies, i.e. significant mixes of anarchist and the non-anarchistical, are chaotic, inconsistent, and thus authoritarian and neither valid anarchism nor anarchy, anarchist nor anarchists, etc. Data related to the travesty contribute principally to the authoritarian degree as an authoritarian tendency, and thus of course not libertarian.

It must be said loud and clear that valid anarchism is, and has been ever since after Peter Kropotkin published "Modern Science and Anarchism" 1903-1913 and confirmed on later anarchist congresses, principally a **consistent research front of libertarian research**, based on the same methods as modern natural sciences, but not in itself a natural science, being social scientific with a

praxeological approach. And thus economical, political and social research and ideas, even with just **a little touch** of marxian, hegelian or other dialectics and pseudoscience, liberalistical metaphysical tendencies, populist new age or other religious ideas, principally brake the methodological basis of anarchism, and thus must be rejected as not valid as anarchism and anarchist. It may of course sometimes be possible to **reformulate** non-anarchist ideas and make them compatible to the anarchist methodology and framework, but this is something else than including such ideas directly as a part of anarchism. Say, things and events that look dialectical in an hegelian or marxian way, may be investigated by the natural scientific method, and be explained in an anarchistical way, according to the methods of modern natural science. This point of view implicates that all things and events principally have a logical, scientific explanation, however perhaps not as easy explained as it may seem at first sight. This will be discussed more in the next chapter, in the philosophical introduction. Some philosophical point of view may have an influence on the measurment of the authoritarian degree, i.e. via more or less freedom of thought, will and choice.

And as mentioned concepts as "anarcho-marxism" and "anarcho-capitalism", are "anarchy"-statism and "anarchy"-plutarchy respectively, and thus not anarchy or anarchism in real terms, because these concepts are contradictive and thus not consistent. Thus, "anarcho-marxism" is marxism and not anarchism, and "anarcho-capitalism" is capitalism (typically liberalism) and not anarchism, if these concepts are not so chaotic that they are some kind of populism/fascism in real terms. Such tendencies must then be counted for as not-anarchist tendencies in mapping of a system.

C. ANARCHISM AND MODERN SCIENCE UPDATED - HISTORY OF THOUGHT - METHODOLOGY

As mentioned in chapter V. B. it is principally also possible to use the framework of the economical political map, i.e. say, estimate the authoritarian degree of societies of nonhuman, animal life, especially social animals, as apes and ants, and thus it is clear that the map does not take a stand vis-a-vis whether the individuals are lead or decide actions by instincts, predetermined, or more or less based on free will and/or choice, determined or random, or a relevant mix. Thus the framework is general, principal and universal, and may principally also be used on more or less social lifeforms in outer space, in case they exist. This also indicates that the degree of democracy may have different interpretations or meaning with respect to freedom in a more philosophical perspective. Say, a democratic system may be simulated on a computer as a game at certain coordinates on the EP- map, but the program simulating the democracy and the animated people exposed on the datascreen of course have no freedom of choice or other freedom at all, but are 100% predetermined by the computer/program and the player(s) and perhaps some more or less random data errors. Ants may have complicated behavioral patterns and perhaps act on signals ('commands') from other ants in relevant matters, but act ca 100% on instinct, and have ca no freedom of choice, neither as 'commander' nor 'soldier'. In special cases this may also lead to war between different societies of ants, so it is not perfect harmony, but the war happens automatically - on instinct, not by choice in a free way.

Cows, wolves and similar social animals may seemingly have both authority, 'authorities' and 'people', leaders and followers, and sometimes social conflict, but obviously very limited freedom of choice, and mostly a predetermined pattern of decisions. Apes have different forms of social patterns, some, say baboons, seemingly have a rather authoritarian system, some (some kinds of tree apes) seemingly a more democratic or anarchist, but freedom of choice is probably very limited, and movements of the system's coordinates over time will anyway only variate moderately around the naturally predetermined average level, randomly or determined by weather, biotopical and ecological conditions. Tendential and significant changes of the coordinates of the system may only happen as a genetical change over long time. A seemingly democratic system, based on much mutual aid, at first sight - will of course get an increased authoritarian degree if we account for lack of freedom of choice, measured by inflexibility in stimulus response patterns, as a part of the authoritarian degree, and not only look at the directly visible outer signs and tendencies of repression, physically, i.e. "economically" and/or by "political/administrative rank"

In this case, if accounting for freedom of choice, the seemingly perhaps relatively little authoritarian society of ants at first sight, may then be accounted for as having significant more authoritarian degree when the fixed 'bureaucratical A4 scheme' genetical patterns with lack of freedom of choice are accounted for as authoritarian. The lack of freedom, the "bureaucratic A4 scheme" nature of the societies of ants, may be exposed for instance when introducing a different, less friendly, ecology/biotop, because then they are not able to adjust to the new environment, but act similar as before, and then exposing **inefficiency** vis-a-vis the new situation, and thus it is not libertarian. It must also be mentioned that the name 'queen' related to the reproduction unit in the bee-society is misleading, because she has no significant command over the workers and thus is not a monarch in real terms. Although the social nonhuman animals certainly have a production and distribution system and sometimes rank and food (real income) differences, indicating economical and political/administrative hierarchy, the freedom of choice is so small that the relevance of measuring the authoritarian degree may be questioned. But principally the coordinates of such systems and the authoritarian degree may be measured, technically seen. The results will however be less libertarian when accounting for genetically determined "bureaucratic A4 schemes" reducing freedom, and not only do a superficial analysis of behavior patterns in a relatively optimal biotopical and ecological environment. Anyway, analogies to human societies - and the other way around, are in general non-scientifical, and must be avoided as false in scientifical perspective. Humans are neither apes nor ants, although very seemingly a kind of social animal, i.e. but not necessarily a beast. We will discuss this a bit more below in this chapter.

Of course analogies from nonhuman animal life, in a social darwinistical "mutual fight, and survival of the fittest" way, or the opposite "mutual aid and co-operation" analogy, have no significant scientifical value in human society, and must thus be avoided, and rejected as pseudoscience. It must also be mentioned that Kropotkin's principle of using the scientifical method of the natural sciences in social research implicates that such analogies must be avoided, and

thus Kropotkin's works on mutual aid in nature, must of course not be interpreted analogical as 'natural' for the human society. The purpose of the investigations of "mutual aid" by Kropotkin was a.o.t. to cut the **biased** basis for social darwinistical analogies falsely used in social sciences and politics, by pointing out that mutual aid was also an important tendency in nature. But by stating the principle of using the general methods of modern natural sciences in social sciences and anarchism as well as politics, **Kropotkin principally also rejected** to use any analogies from natural sciences in general, **including** analogies based on mutual aid. Analogies and metaphores may inspire towards new working hypothesis in social sciences, but standing alone and as such have no scientific value.

However, according to the evolutionary more or less darwinistical theory, humans of course are highly genetically related to the apes and other advanced mammals. But the difference is also quite large. From a common ancestor probably several missing links of advanced prehuman apes and prehistorical primitive humans have occurred. But because we find little traces of these human like beings, primates, they may probably had a sad destiny. Cannibalism, slavery, fights on life vs death to gain power to rule economically and political/administrative broadly defined, cruelty, bestiality, you name it - the prehistory of humans probably have got it. Only fantasy set limits to authoritarian evil... Archi-societies was probably mostly hell, and thus far from anarchies. We however also know from relatively modern history of humans living on small islands in rather optimal biotops and relatively far from dangerous enemies sometimes have developed somewhat libertarian types of societies. Were our ancestors more like a baboon, or even more authoritarian, or mainly related to the seemingly less authoritarian treeape? Perhaps, and most likely, the modern human, being yellow, black, brown, red or white of skin-color, or a mix, has both genetical ability to act culturally, socially i.e. political/administrative and economically broadly defined, more like authoritarian baboons or worse, or more like relatively libertarian treeapes, dependent on education, language and communication, organization, defence and other relevant conditions.

Thus the economical political systems map has probably a genetical root, i.e. it is possible to grasp it for the human brain and mentally, and see and/or/investigate a lot - if not all - possible alternatives, theoretically and practically, do research and discuss it in different ways, if this is not obscured by authoritarian Orwellian "1984" type manipulations of the language in the direction "baboon babble", repression of this research and spreading of it by Chomskyite "manufacturing of consent" or other ways, and repression of practical applications, etc. Perhaps the primitive "baboon" in us, related to some of the genetical construction of the brain, may also sometimes set some limits for libertarian thoughts, but these borders may be bypassed, and the other possibility of the genetical construction, the "tree ape" in us, combined with the more free will and logical, intelligent and thinking conscious of the "I" or "ego" personality of the modern human being, may reach a sufficient level of libertarian, realdemocratic, thoughts and ideas, to be able to create, under reasonable other conditions, societies of high standards and degree of anarchy.

However a retardation to a) "baboon babble" language and baboon like culture, organization and society, or b) even worse, a somewhat similar type of system combined with much authoritarian evils, i.e. "the beast" in us or at least some of mankind, limited only by fantasy, archi-society plus extreme sadistical evil, more than 666 per thousand authoritarian degree, and even more authoritarian, is, c) sorry to say, also very much a possibility. The humans history demonstrates this. The "baboon" in us, or even worse, the "beast", may sometimes be a strong mental creature, and make room, under certain conditions, for authoritarian and ultra-authoritarian hell societies, i.e. if the opportunity knocks. This is what must be avoided, and the libertarian side of the human beings be developed via education, culture and organization. It is however not possible to achieve this, i.e. the less authoritarian and more and more anarchy, just by mental human development and "newthinking" towards a more libertarian moral etc, culture, by a "new religion" playing on "divine" or secular strings, believing in gods or devils, the coming of a divine, or other libertarian supermen, the "good in mankind or man", etc. but only if such things are combined with a **sufficiently strong armed defence, i.e. above all what is necessary.**

Troughout time, all the "missing links" between the apelike anchestor, later apemen and later modern human beings, are 100% destroyed and probably often killed, often being slaves first, and perhaps later also often eaten. The only primates that have survived are some apes, and the modern humans, about equally intelligent averagely but of different skin-color and some genetically minor differences on the outside, but very much alike inside. No-one else among the apemen has survived. What we know from archeology, prehistorical and historical research are that a) relatively libertarian cultures and societies have developed sometimes, after doing away with less competitive humanoid primates, or inventing new food-productive technology, or travelling to and settling on a small, naturally protected island, or similar, but b) more "baboon-like", "dog-like", "beast-like", aggressive mutants, random or socially determined breed of authoritarian types of personality, culture or belief, and/or more authoritarian cultures based on authoritarian education, indoctrination and organization, have always appeared on the scene. Sometimes the more authoritarians have probably managed to do away with a lot, or some part of, (if not all) of the relatively libertarian tendencies or societies.

But all in all, human societies of earth today are perhaps averagely less of an authoritarian hell, and more democratic, than before. Some are even anarchist or close to. However historically relatively new ultra-authoritarian regimes, say, Hitler and Mussolini (fascism) , Stalin, Pol-Pot (marxism), The British empire's horrible doings, and later the slaughter of the Indians in USA (liberalism), and similar, are proof that things may easily and very much go out of hand, and the "baboon & beast" society or tendency may easily return, on large scale.

As mentioned, of course **analogies** from nonhuman animal life, in a social darwinistical "mutual fight, and survival of the fittest" way, or the opposite "mutual aid and co-operation" and best survival this way, analogy, have no significant scientific value in human society, and must thus be avoided, and rejected as pseudoscience. It must also be mentioned that Kropotkin's principle of using the scientific method of the natural sciences in social research implicates that such analogies must be avoided, and thus Kropotkin's works on

mutual aid in nature, must of course not be interpreted analogical as 'natural' for the human society. The purpose of the investigations of "mutual aid" by Kropotkin was a.o.t. to cut the biased basis for social darwinistical analogies falsely used in social sciences and politics, by pointing out that mutual aid was also an important tendency in nature. But by stating the principle of using the general methods of modern natural sciences in social sciences and anarchism as well as politics, Kropotkin principally also rejected to use any **analogies** from natural sciences in general, including analogies based on mutual aid. Analogies and metaphores may inspire towards new working hypothesis in social sciences, but standing alone and as such have no scientific value.

And as mentioned concepts as "anarcho-marxism" and "anarcho-capitalism", are "anarchy"-statism and "anarchy"-plutarchy respectively, and thus not anarchy or anarchism in real terms, because these concepts are contradictive and thus not consistent. Thus, "anarcho-marxism" is marxism and not anarchism, and "anarcho-capitalism" is capitalism (typically liberalism) and not anarchism, if these concepts are not so chaotic that they are some kind of populism/fascism in real terms. Such tendencies must then be counted for as not-anarchist tendencies related to mapping of systems, including discussing the models and political tendencies of political economy and its different researchers and spokesmen.

1. A brief history of thought based on the economical-political map

Historically different writers, philosophers and researchers, may also be placed on the map. Say, to the far left on the map we have marxist theorists as Rosa Luxemburg, Gramsci and Herbert Marcuse. Not so far left and closer to anarchism, but not anarchist, we have Cohn-Bendit, Pannekoek, the Norwegian Rune Slagstad, and some revolutionary syndicalists, i.e. "children of Marx", some of them more or less semilibertarian (but not anarchist). At the center it is social-democracy, associated to Bernstein's revisionism, and to the left and down we have the Leninists, i.e. Trotsky, Stalin, Baader-Meinhof, Castro, Mao, Pol-Pot, a.s.o. All of these are followers of Karl Marx. However we use "marxism" as a general concept for statism-socialism and thus also, say, Blanqui may be said to be leninist or leninistoid, placed in the state-communist sector of the marxist quadrant on the map. Even some ancient Greek philosophers may be accounted for as leninists or leninistoid.

The anarchists are found not so far left and more upwards on the map. The anarchists relatively most to the left are, say, Noam Chomsky, Michael Bakunin and some anarcho-syndicalists, as Diego Abad de Santillán (Sinesio García Fernández), i.e. collectivist anarchism. Upwards on the top of the map we have commune and communist anarchism, associated to Pjotr/Peter Kropotkin/Krapotkin, Errico Malatesta, Emma Goldman, etc. Relatively to the right, but not far right, are individualist anarchists, as Benjamin Tucker and individualist mutualists. Close to the middle of the map we have social (individualist) anarchism, with main stream Proudhon, a.s.o. Proudhon had a "left side" developed further by Bakunin, and a "right side" giving arguments to the more clearly individualist anarchists, but he is mainly a theorist of the progressive middle. Some of them were social scientists, as Kropotkin and Proudhon, some more philosophers as Bakunin, and others more research

journalists and essayists, as Malatesta, Tucker and Emma Goldman. Anyway, they were **all children of their time**, and quoting them to much in analysis of today's problems, results in "**anarchistology**", similar to marxism (typically Lenin said that, Engels said this a.s.o., i.e. different types of **hermeneutical** analysis), and that is **not** anarchism. Such "anarchistology analysis" may be twisted in any direction by the author, and have usually neither relevance to the problem nor to anarchism.

"Anarchistology" is especially a problem when people take polemical headlines and slogans pushing things to extremes for propagandistic pedagogical and/or rhetorical reasons **out of context**, not referring the matter of fact reasoning behind the headlines/slogans, the precise definitions of concepts, the logical relations and conditions, etc. As anarchists now and then use polemical and quite exaggerating statements for pedagogical etc. reasons, to get attention, an hermeneutical analysis may be quite misleading. And **principally** such hermeneutical analysis of historically given slogans and headlines, sometimes presented as "tradition", is clearly against the basic scientific methods of anarchism, and thus not anarchist at all. In anarchism there exist **no relevant** "tradition" for hermeneutical "analysis", just a research front of so far not rejected working hypothesis and theories. In chapter V.C.3. below we will discuss the scientific basis and methods of anarchism more.

Similar to Marx as the "father" of marxism, Proudhon is the "father" of anarchism. We can however trace similar thoughts back throughout history, although usually more vague and/or propagandistic, without real scientific character. In all these preanarchist thinkers, Goodwin, Stirner, and further back to the Greek "Stoic" school, Zen-Buddhism etc. works, there are serious faults, inconsistencies, "guru-authoritarian tendencies", dialectical pseudo-scientific way of thinking, vague and obscure expressions (fogarchical), etc. that are rejected by later anarchist research. However there are also sound elements, that constitute working hypothesis that is still valid in anarchist research, however often modified a bit and defined more precisely. It must also be mentioned that the **left-Hegelian dialectical tendencies** in some of Bakunins, Max Stirners, and, say, later Daniel Guérin, Sam Dolgoff and Murray Bookchin's works are pseudoscientific and must principally be rejected, and thus **not accounted for as valid parts of anarchist research**.

With this in mind, it may be refreshing and inspiring to read these old works, also to get ideas to new working hypothesis in anarchist research, but they should in general not be interpreted literally or dogmatic. A main problem with some, not all, of these ancient more or less libertarian philosophers is that they not always keep to the basic scientific notions that 1. for everything $A = A$ and 2. everything is either A or not A, which is practically always valid in reality. Thoughts and dreams may be inconsistent and contradictive, breaking 1 and 2, but material realities probably always not. Although such obscure statements, breaking 1. and/or 2. may have poetical or ironical value, and sometimes inspire to further thinking towards new working hypothesis, they are in itself not a part of anarchism, which is scientific, and they are also basically **chaotic**, and thus basically authoritarian, if used literally as political/administrative and/or economical statements and "principles". However, as indicated, such unscientific statements should perhaps not be interpreted in a political

economy and social organization context at all, but seen just as cultural, outside the political sphere broadly defined. But such statements may as indicated above, **inspirit** us to new scientific thinking.

Remember **anarchism is not totalitarian**. If interpreted totalitarian, it is no more anarchism. Everything is not politics, even broadly defined, and thus some poetry and other cultural expressions etc. may be outside the framework of anarchism, although very well interesting for anarchists to read. The knowledge of authoritarian ideas, as well as libertarian, and non-political ideas, in general, is of course necessary to achieve a cultural high level, compatible with anarchism. Just to read anarchist books, makes no good anarchist! However not to know anarchism, the anarchist research front, i.e. what is still valid and not rejected of anarchist working hypothesis and theories, is not anarchist either. And some poetical and typically cultural statements, may very well be a part of anarchism or compatible with it, say, some of Orwell's and Ibsen's poetical expressions, and Piet Heins famous notion on humor and jokes, etc. However the hermeneutical statement that "(sun)light is both shadow and light" taken literally, is not scientific, clearly breaking 2. mentioned above, and thus not anarchist, although it may **possibly** remind us via associations in a vague way that there are degrees of anarchy vs authority.

Similar metaphores, etc. in Zen Buddhism and Greek philosophy etc., as well as modernistic and so called post-modernistic poetry and stunt comedy, are not anarchist either, although sometimes it may be nice and/or get the mind to work in a positive way. A narrow minded anarchist, just interested in politics and anarchism is dull and probably not a good anarchist either, but that does not mean that hermeneutical metaphores and similar are a part of anarchism. As mentioned above, everything interesting in society and life, the nature, planets, outer space, mountains, animals, plants, forests and the oceans, environment, culture, music, sports, art, etc. are not political; - politics are not, even broadly defined, everything, and especially not anarchism, that is only one of four equally sized parts on the economical-political map. To put the label "anarchist" on almost anything trendy, new and opposed to the old or established things/ideas, without significant political relevance, is not anarchist. And if significant of political interest, new things/ideas may as well be authoritarian. Authoritarian and non-anarchist tendencies, as well as anarchist, may put on new clothing and hats, "old wine in new bottles". But if political, new things/ideas will practically always be located to one of the four quadrants on the economical-political map, and not be something real new and exciting. And, sorry to say, it will probably never come something new and exciting, breaking "the walls" of the Economical-Political Map. The E.P.-map, with the four quadrants, the 16 sectors and more, **or** a quite similar model for economical-political systems broadly defined, (details may be optional) - is among the most solid blocks of knowledge in social science today, and probably also in the future as long as mankind exists.

The science of political economy and social organization research is probably, **practically almost certain**, come to **the point of now return** in this context. People waiting for a new guru that has seen the "great light", "the third way", etc. **outside** the map, are probably, practically certain, waiting in vain. They are probably nothing but ignorant fools, and/or perhaps "useful" idiots of

Lenin/Hitler. To not at all be interested in politics must also be rejected. The old Greeks called such persons for idiots, which is still probably a valid label. People of today, and in the future, should almost certain, choose between the four quadrants on the economical political map, and what is their ideal, and work for it more or less all of the time, although of course not forget the other aspects of life.

To the right on the E.P.-map, close to the middle, we have John Stuart Mill and social liberalism, while Edmund Burke is a conservative liberalist, etc., i.e. the followers of Adam Smith, the "father" of **liberalism**, ideologically mainly located above the center of the liberalistic quadrant of the E.P.map. A modern advocate of mainly semilibertarian plutarchy/liberalism, rightwards and a bit upwards on the map, is Robert Nozick. See <http://www.anarchy.no/nozick.html> . Nozick's theory advocates a large degree of autonomy, but allows for slavecontracts, i.e. economical plutarchy, that contradicts anarchy. A somewhat related thinker, Murray N. Rothbard, is called a theorist of "anarcho-capitalism", i.e. however probably meaning "anarchy-plutarchy" and thus a contradictive and non-scientifical concept. Thus, most likely Rothbard is also a semilibertarian liberalist, and perhaps more to the right than Nozick. There have sometimes been a tendency among conservative liberalists to interpret the works of Mill, Smith, Nozick and even Rothbard in a conservative way, not taking fully into account their **social-liberal** and individualist ideas. Others have interpreted them as moderate libertarian socialists and even socialdemocrats. As far as we know today, neither of these interpretations are valid.

The fascist quadrant, light brown populism included, have a lot of rather different spokesmen. Mussolini's fascists adopted the later works of the earlier marxist and welfare theorist Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923), famous for his welfare theoretical "Pareto-optimum" from his early works, but also well known for his contempt for democracy, living in the Swiss Confederation when Mussolini started the fascist movement and to his death in 1923. **The fascists declared Pareto the founder of their ideology.** The anti-intellectual and chaotic works of Adolf Hitler, say, "Mein Kampf", is however more typical to the most authoritarian forms of fascism/nazism. Pareto-optimum is a general principle, a criteria of efficiency, widely accepted by social scientists, and also in anarchist economics and social science in general, and as such is not authoritarian. This principle may be used in an authoritarian and a libertarian context, and it is of course used in a libertarian way in anarchist science and politics, i.e. related to systems within the anarchist quadrant of the economical political map. Among the more authoritarian populists, Juan Peron from Argentina is a historical icon. Among the most authoritarian **left** populists, the terroristical Sergej Nechaev, who tried to play some tricks and intrigues on Michael Bakunin, but was rejected and denounced, may be mentioned as a horrible type. The Norwegian Carl. I. Hagen is mainly a **right** populist, but may opportunistically play liberalistical vs left populist sometimes, also with some false libertarian rhetoric.

In the **light brown part of the populist sector** many "gurus" with totalitarian quasiscientifical models, with dogmatical and somewhat authoritarian political tendencies and obscure, religious ideas are found. Some of them have also had

close to (but not significant degree of the) libertarian ideas, - which is possible because the anarchist quadrant and the populist sector meet in the middle-point of the E.P.map. Rudolf Steiner with his totalitarian metaphysical, spiritual "science" based on astrology and advanced spiritism, etc. and a quasidemocratic, guru hierarchist, syndicalist type organization theory, called "three-branching" (tregreningen), "biodynamical agriculture" with some of it close to green-ecological tendencies, and "guru-schools" (Waldorf schools) with some close to libertarian tendencies, - the whole system called "anthroposophy", is one of them. Although all in all having significant authoritarian degree, some of these basically non-scientific but somewhat close to libertarian ideas, have inspired some anarchists, but of course then reformulating the ideas to testable hypothesis, for anarchist research. However, the metaphysical, astrological and guru elements have been rejected by the anarchists. Some of the "populist light" followers of Steiner in Scandinavia, in the latest part of the 1970s and early 1980s, tried to promote the populist syndicalism, as well as some other ideas of Steiner as "spiritual anarchism", but that was clearly rejected by the Anarchist Federation, and soon put to an end. Steiner himself for a short while in his younger days indirectly agreed on the label "individualist anarchist" in a vague way, however misunderstanding what anarchism is, and when he found out what anarchism really is, he rejected the idea and to be anarchist.

Another of these gurus is Bertram Dybwad Brochmann, in his early days a young/youth socialist, member of the Norwegian NUF (Youth Socialist Federation), and also a spokesman for NSF, the Norwegian Syndicalist Federation of AIT/IAA/IWA, at some syndicalist events, and a writer on sociological items in the syndicalist newspaper "Alarm". He declared however later that he was **not** an anarchist or syndicalist. His "Totalitetsøkonomi" (totality-economy), probably rooted back to Kropotkin's works on economics, inspired the later economical Nobel Prize winner Ragnar Frisch to the work on "økosirk" models (**economical circulation models, ecocirc**), which are further developed in anarchist economics of today, introducing bureaucracy costs, environmental factors and political systems elements, say, the democratic people's perspective as opposed to national(ist) and the authorities, upper class perspective, - more clearly than in Frisch's original works. From B.D.B. Frisch among other things adopted the concepts of **money/fiction economy vs real economy**. In the 1930s Frisch also worked in co-operation with, among others, the movement of B.D.B - mainly in Bergen, with a **planned direct exchange economy** based on "varebyttesentraler", "goods-exchange-centrals", inspired from the Swiss Confederation, based on advanced accounting, mutual aid and without money, related a bit to some of Kropotkins ideas. Although used a bit in the Swiss Confederation at that time, these attempts didn't work very well in practice in Norway, and this theory is today **mainly** rejected by anarchist economists. Principally it may work with a limited number **necessity** goods, but not in a modern society with a lot of goods and services of all kinds and quality characteristics. Similar ideas had a short rebirth later during the economical depression in Norway after 1987, and also practiced on a small scale, but they mainly disappeared when the depression was over. This planned exchange

economy must not be mixed up with primitive forms of barter markets, say used in Argentina 2002.

The most anarchistical parts of the original **ecocirc** ideas of Frisch, i.e. bureaucracy/systems costs, were **later omitted under pressure from governmental tendencies**, and a model where the political/administrative bureaucracy in public sector, i.e. their remuneration, is accounted for as valuable output and consumption instead of input costs, as in private sector accounting, was introduced. The political economical reactionary tendencies vis-à-vis efficiency and fairness for the people, from these bureaucratic tricks, should be clear to everybody not working in the public sector bureaucracy broadly defined. Much of the ecocirc theories were however not affected by this, and thus is still valid in anarchist economics of today.

The introduction of bureaucracy economics, cutting out the anarchist point of view, in the ecosirc system, happened among other things because in his earlier days Ragnar Frisch was not very much a man that "stood on the barricades" to fight.

Frisch continued as a professor at Universitas Osloensis. Frisch also had some authoritarian or semilibertarian socialist ideas at that time, and he ran the Institute of Social Economics at the University in a bit authoritarian style, however this probably not the significant. At that time Frisch had a bit dogmatic and authoritarian belief in the ecocirc system, rooted back to works about the 1930s, but first published in 1942 *"Noen innføringsmerknader om økosirk-systemet (Det økonomiske sirkulasjonssystemet) S.S.S.S. - TRYKK - Skrivemaskinstua - Oslo Oktober 1942, - sometimes stating it was "absolutely certain relations", "absolutt sikre sammenhenger" a.s.o, forgetting in this case the scientific methodology of anarchist economics clarified by Kropotkin: "The scientific method (the **method of natural scientific induction**) being utterly unknown to them, they fail to give themselves any definite account of what constitutes "a law of nature," although they delight in using the term. They do not know - or if they know they continually forget - that every law of nature has a **conditional** character. It is always expressed thus: "If certain conditions in nature meet, certain things will happen." "If one line intersects another, forming right angles on both sides of it, the consequences will be these or those." If two bodies are acted upon by such movements only as exist in interstellar space, and there is no third body within measurable distance of them, then their centres of gravity will approach each other at a certain speed (the law of gravitation)." And so on. **In every case there is an "if" - a condition.... Whether or not Anarchism is right in its conclusions, will be shown by a scientific criticism of its bases and by the practical life of the future. But in one thing it is absolutely right: in that it has included the study of social institutions in the sphere of natural-scientific investigations; has forever parted company with metaphysics; and makes use of the method by which modern natural science and modern material philosophy were developed. Owing to this, the very mistakes which Anarchism may have made in its researches can be detected the more readily. But its conclusions can be verified only by the same natural-scientific, inductive-deductive method by which every science and every scientific concept of the universe is created. "** (Modern Science and Anarchism (1903)). [bold letters sat*

by ed. A summary of the "highlights" on the method expressed by Kropotkin is quoted in <http://www.anarchy.no/kropot1.html>]

It must here be mentioned that Kropotkin also accounted for a priori sciences as mathematics and mathematical logic as "method of natural sciences", i.e. if the Platonic, non-materialistic point of view is used as framework. This is important because economics have both 1. a priori type ecocirc relations (within the Platonic approach) and 2. equations similar to in physics, meteorology and engineering, i.e. statistically hypothetical and unless special cases without deviation and with uncertainty. The a priori conditions reflect the construction of human institutions and organizations a.s.o. historically, today and possibly of new constructions in the future, i.e. in advance - similar to a planned perspective. The similar a posteriori approach is based on experience. However none of these are unconditional and absolutely true, not even the a priori ones. Thus, when Frisch called the a priori (or a posteriori) type ecocirc relations for "absolute certain" he was on thin ice.

But Trygve Haavelmo, another libertarian socialist economist and later Nobel prize winner, put Ragnar at place, in a famous memo published by the Institute, restating the basic principles on economical methodology, and demonstrating beyond reasonable doubt that the ecocirc relations were only **practically** always valid, not unconditionally and absolutely true, among other things dependent on the **conditional principles of book-keeping by double entry**. Thus, also Trygve Haavelmo contributed a.o.t. in an important way to anarchist political economy, by reminding Frisch on what he should have remembered. Haavelmo's criticism of Pareto's pyramidal "law" of income and related topics may be mentioned as well. Frisch also used the ecocirc models as basis for a planned socialist economical demand management, as an alternative to the liberalistical method of John M. Keynes. This approach is further developed in modern anarchist political economy, see <http://www.anarchy.no/aneco1.html> .

In his older days R. Frisch more and more left these authoritarian tendencies, and also "went on the barricades", sometimes acting quite like a youth socialist and anarchosyndicalist "teenager". This tendency was among other things seen in an article in November 1953 in "Arbeiderbladet" declaring "Overklassementaliteten lever", "The upper class mentality is alive", warning about the working class youths should "fall a sleep... and lose their spirit to struggle". He also protested heavily against the EEC/EU, which he called the "UNENLIGHTENED PLUTARCHY", "Det uopplyste pengevelde", in an article in the internationally respected scientific journal "Sosialøkonomen" (Frisch, Ragnar (1961). Det uopplyste pengevelde, Sosialøkonomen: 7/61), "The Social Economist", the organ of the Norwegian Association of Economists. (Today the name has changed, the "social" part is omitted) Frisch saw his later fellow Nobel Prize winner Jan Tindbergen from the Netherlands, who was very much yes to EEC/EU, as a naive bureaucrat who couldn't see the dangers of the coming Union. In 1962 he wrote another important article in "Dagbladet", called "Socially orientated or high finance orientated economic planning" (Samfunnsorientert eller storfinansorientert planøkonomi), clearly rejecting the EU-type plutarchy-statism bureaucracy economics, and putting up a rather libertarian socialist alternative called "social-plan-wealth". Several other articles

on economic democracy, freedom-planning, co-operatives (mutualism) etc. are rather well known in the Nordic countries.

He also became very much interested in Icelandic small scale societal political economy, etc., taking more and more a libertarian socialist point of view, and always defending the "little man", i.e. the people's, perspective. In Mars 1971 he wrote a note called "Life is service" declaring that all of his efforts were done with the purpose to help the little man in the society. Frisch was politically quite radical and of course all of the time a democrat. However, the other **political** efforts of Frisch, mainly based on the ecocirc system and ideas related to the planned exchange economy "varebyttesentraler" (goods-exchange-centrals) didn't break through in the main political system. Say, the "goods-exchange-centrals" was once put up by Ole Colbjørnsen in the Labor Party's economical crisis program in the 1930's, but it was rejected by "Den pengetekniske komite", a monetarist committee, with Gunnar Jahn as chairman, calling it an "inadvertence".

That Frisch also shocked the liberalistic and marxist economists, say, as Preben Munthe and Leif Johansen respectively, with his a bit polemical style, should be of no surprise. Frisch had nothing but contempt for the liberalistic market ideology of Egil Bakke, Preben Munthe, etc., and the dictatorial state communist plan ideology of Leif Johansen and others, and he was not afraid of showing it, although of course respecting everybody as fellow scientists and economists. However it is in the anarchist tradition to stress matter of fact reasoning with a touch of non-bureaucratical polemic now and then, and, say Preben Munthe, should perhaps not have been so occupied by the polemic, but looked more on the arguments. The famous, and short, article about EU/EEC as the "UNENLIGHTENED PLUTARCHY" is a central contribution to anarchistical ideas from Norwegian libertarian economists. It must also be mentioned that everytime Frisch tried to put up anarchistical ideas, he was met by a storm of protests from plutarchical and marxistical economists, say, Hoff, Bakke, Munthe, Keilhau, L. Johansen, O. Colbjørnsen and others. Frisch was accused for being polemical, but some of the opponents were even more polemical, and not always based on matter of fact mathematical analysis, as Frisch.

When we in 2002 have seen Berlusconi plutarchist political economy in Italy and Enron plutarchical political economy in the USA, and not to mention the plutarchist and statist bureaucratic - "statism without plan and capitalism without markets" chaotical, authoritarian economic-political "system" in Argentina, it is clear that the term UNENLIGHTENED PLUTARCHY, "Det uopplyste pengevelde", not only is a polemical expression, but has a real scientific meaning, pointing directly to what is in reality going on here and there, and not only exaggerating something for pedagogical reasons.

As indicated above, Ragnar Frisch developed slowly into a libertarian socialist - quite anarchistical, but B.D. Brochmann developed from a relatively libertarian youth socialist and spokesman for the syndicalists into being a populist. B.D.B. founded the "Samfundspartiet" (Society Party), and was elected to the Norwegian Storting, mandated from Bergen in 1933. However the lack of real scientific methods, and a mix with religious beliefs, a guru-approach etc. contributed to put the B.D.B. movement in the light populist sector, although similar to Marx, he had some vague and a bit libertarian ideas as an ideal for the

society in the future, but mixed up with the authoritarian tendencies. B.D.B. was however clearly less authoritarian than main stream marxism.

A radiospeech in 1940 hold by B.D.B., pacifistically **indicating** in a vague way de facto submitting to Hitler and asking people to put down arms, made him arrested for treason after the war, convicted 1947, and for a few years put in jail. A semilibertarian marxist, Johan Vogt, also working at Frisch's institute, who earlier was an authoritarian marxist, wrote a nice note on B.D.B.'s economics to his defence, but he was as mentioned convicted anyway, although he several years had worked against the nazis. After being to prison, B.D.B. retired from politics and worked as a farmer. Perhaps he understood the basic populist faults of his ideas, that his followers the "Brochmannianerne" not yet have discovered? His followers are still around in Norway. A few of them tried to promote his "populist light" ideas as "christian anarchism" in the latest part of the 1970s and early 1980s, but this authoritarian mix of ideas was clearly rejected by the Anarchist Federation and soon put to an end.

Johan Vogt also worked with a variant of the ecocirc system from a marxist point of view, but as explained by later anarchist economists, (see <http://www.anarchy.no/aneco1.html>) this is just an unrealistic special case. In the early 1970s Johan Vogt co-operated for a while with an anarchist economist that later contributed to establish the IIFOR, among other things with papers on environmental economics, and the political economy of freedom. Also Trygve Haavelmo was involved in this co-operation. These works were also related to a paper about a general framework for "neo-anarchist theory".

The main works of Frisch and Haavelmo, outside the ecocirc models, were development of the scientific methods of economics broadly defined, i.e. **econometrics**, the use of mathematical and statistical methods in the field of economics to verify vs reject hypothesis and develop economic theories. The field of econometrics is concerned with estimating economic relations and testing whether postulated relations conform fully with reality. Their aim was to lend economic theory mathematical stringency, and to render it in a form that permits empirical quantification and a statistical testing of hypotheses. One essential object was to get away from the vague, more "literary" type of economics. While Kropotkin laid down the basic principles of the methodology in anarchist political economy broadly defined, Frisch and Haavelmo contributed with practical methods for empirical and theoretical research based on these principles. This development of political economy, called **social economics** by Frisch, may well be called the **Frisch-Kropotkinian revolution** in social sciences.

The famous article by Ragnar Frisch on the unenlightened plutarchy, with comments from IIFOR, is found at URL: <http://www.anarchy.no/frisch1.html> .

Ragnar Anton Kittil Frisch (1895-1973) passed his Ph. D. on a mathematical statistical subject in the Oslo University in 1926 and got the Nobel Prize 1969 "for having developed and applied dynamic models for the analysis of economic processes". Trygve Haavelmo (1911-1999) got the Nobel Prize 1989 "for his clarification of the probability theory foundations of econometrics and his analyses of simultaneous economic structures". Thus, they didn't get their Nobel Prizes for their most clearly anarchist economical research, but the most politically neutral, that very well also can be used for reactionary,

bureaucratical purposes. This is no surprise to anarchists, say, Henrik Ibsen, at least for some years anarchist, never got a Nobel Prize, but the reactionary and nazi Knut Hamsun got it. Frisch is said to be before his time in the building of mathematical models, and he has many successors. The same is true of his contribution to methods for the statistical testing of hypotheses. However Kropotkin stated the principal methodology already in 1903-13, so Frisch was not "first pilot". Today's econometrics have at least partly developed a bit into "econometricology", i.e. statistiscal methods without real economical content, and thus a form of quasiscience. This tendency has however been clearly rejected in modern anarchist political economy, that sticks to the basic, practically always valid relations, advanced ecocirc and similar equations. Furthermore, as indicated above, the early, progressive ecocirc theories of Frisch, including bureaucracy/systems costs, are further developed in modern anarchist economics, while the reactionary bureaucratic national accounting tendency, is rejected

Some economical history-writers, say, Tore J. Hanisch talks about the so called Oslo-school of economics, a quite misleading concept. Meaning "school" as a special political economy tendency on the Economical Political map, this must be rejected. This is so because **the students of Frisch were spread all over the Economical-Political map, and Frisch himself moved from a bit authoritarian to libertarian socialism.**

Frisch had used Trygve Haavelmo to carry the bags for the Frisch family during a trip to USA, and Haavelmo disliked this authoritarian tendency, and was in some ways rather fed up with Frisch, but he was never the less mainly a supporter of the libertarian third alternative. Gunnar Bøe, first working with the Labor Party, but leaving it in protest in the early 1960's, and later working as a professor in political economy at the technical university in Trondheim, NTH/NTNU, was also among the prominent third alternative libertarians, hinting to Kropotkinian ideas in some of his works, and presenting a general framwork for economical-political systems compatible with the Economical Political map, say, in chapter I, of the compendium "Samfunnsøkonomi"/"Political economy" (1976). But neither Haavelmo, nor Bøe and the other third alternative libertarians in the environment of social political economists in Norway were fiercely on the 'barricadas' in the public room as Ragnar Frisch, - they were mainly more of the quiet types, less openly and visible, active politically engaged in the 1945-60s. But the third alternative, and anarchist tendencies in general were all of the time present in the social scientific, labor and people's movements and organizations, sometimes with more influence, some times with less, but the social democratic marxian tendency was clearly the strongest from 1945-1994, both as a political tendency and with respect to the Norwegian economical political system.

Odd Aukrust was for a time nazi-economist, later marxian socialdemocrat, Peter Jacob Bjerve also a very much state-socialist socialdemocrat, Leif Johansen was a Soviet type marxist-leninist, Preben Munthe mainly liberalistical, but in his older days also discussing publicly populists vs more or less original "third way" economists in a historical perspective, mentioning Proudhon, the American Henry George, the Germans Franz Oppenheimer and other ones with kibbutz and co-operative ideas, say, Silvio Gesell, that Johan Vogt was very much

interested in especially before he became a marxian, Ragnar Frisch, etc. in his book "Populister og originale økonomer" (1999). Kåre Willoch liberal conservative, and in his older days moving leftwards to a kind of left populism, Carl E. Schulz Albania type maoist marxist-leninist, Per Kleppe socialdemocrat, Hilde Bojer, the sister of the green anarchist (at least for a quite long time) J. Bojer Vindheim - socialist leftist, some others semilibertarian or libertarian, etc. It may be mentioned that especially the most of the marxian socialdemocrats were strongly opposed to the libertarian third alternative ideas of Ragnar Frisch, and quickly ruled out, say, the organizational = systems costs, in the Frisch-Kropotkinian accounting and ecocirc system, to falsely make the bureaucrats and the systems' errors count as positive factors, or not accounted properly for, in the national accounting. However this discussion still continues in the environment of political economists and sociologists broadly defined, in Norway as well as internationally.

Strictly looking at the basic ecocirc and taxonomical relations, etc. there exist **no separate "schools"** in (anarchist) political economy and social organizations' research **at all**, just special cases of the same "mother model", see <http://www.anarchy.no/aneco1.html> . Keynesianism, monetarism, neoclassical theory etc. and the different political tendencies may be seen as special cases of this general model, and thus not separate schools. In this perspective the name "Oslo school" is of course irrelevant because "schools" in general are not relevant within modern political economy.

Since economics historically not always have been 100% scientific, but sometimes included quasiscientific relations, we may perhaps talk of "schools" in political economy historically in an *idiographical* and *hermeneutical* perspective. But this is not relevant using the updated "mother model" as framework, i.e. a *nomothetical* perspective - and this perspective on history must be taken into account within this general framework. This is further explained in the chapter on methodology below. However there are probably no such quasiscientific relations especially related to political economists in Oslo. Thus the term "Oslo school" is not relevant in this context either.

Kropotkin was for a short time in Oslo, visiting Norway two times, meeting prominent Norwegians according to a.o.t. newspaper-reports, and Frisch was mainly working there later, but this does not mean that the *Frisch-Kropotkinian* social science revolution is something special or typical for Oslo - it is *international*. And this revolution stagnated in the 1970s and a *new revolution* in anarchist political economy broadly defined was introduced in the early 1990s, mainly by IIFOR, taking into account new ecocirc, sociology, politology, social and industrial organization research, anarchist class analysis, ICT-models based on spread-sheets and similar, scenarioanalysis and simulation-models, a.s.o. in a *generalistic social science approach*. *This revolution is a follower of the Frisch-Kropotkinian revolution, and may just be called (the breakthrough of) the general theory of anarchist political economy and social organization research.* This model is as mentioned general, not a special "school", and although it is mainly "made in Oslo", it was early published in International Journal of Organization Research, and presented internationally at several conferences and other

journals/books, and thus should not be seen as a national or Oslo project.

The list of populist light brown gurus all over the world is quite long, and also the list of utopian radicalist gurus in the marxist, socialist quadrant on the map, and also chaotical mixes of these tendencies exist. Erik Damman with FIVH, "Future in our hands", an organization in Norway and internationally, say England, is one of them, sometimes a bit populist and "new age", but other times more or less semilibertarian marxistical, all in all a bit authoritarian or semilibertarian marxist type of policy, certainly not more than 67% authoritarian degree, but although FIVH was called "a blood-red anarchist organization" by the neonazi Erich Blücher of the "Norwegian Front" (Norsk Front), who later fled Norway to live in Sweden, and sometimes a bit anarchist rhetoric, Damman and FIVH have never been anarchist. The movement is ideologically quite a bit chaotic and guru-hierarchical, and in practice too much libertarian (i.e. not libertarian) partying with whisky, beer and wine and smoking, mixed with vegetarian and not always healthy "health food" etc., with relatively large bureaucracy costs, partly financed by the State, mainly at the secretariate in Oslo. However some anarchists have been working with the FIVH, on progressive political and economical special projects, also trying to turn the movement a bit in anarchist direction, but so far have not succeeded to make the movement anarchist. In general too much "new age" populist and dialectical marxist ideas, and tendencies of fanaticism and dogmatism, non-scientifical ways of thinking, which is hard to do away with with free, matter of fact criticism.

The same goes for Steiner's and Brochmann's followers and other "wannabe libertarians", etc, all over the world, none of them anarchist, but with main tendency **clearly outside** the anarchist quadrant, and spread all over the E.P. map outside this quadrant, dependent on how authoritarian, fanatical, totalitarian and/or terroristical, leftist or rightist, such movements mainly - and in reality - are. Well known typical "fogarchs" of varying authoritarian degree are, in addition to Marx, Lysenko (who also misused Kropotkin, by not using his method, but wrongly sticking to one of Kropotkin's few later rejected working hypothesis), Damman, Steiner, Brochmann and several fascists and liberalistical "gurus" of politics and business, are, say, Nostradamus (1503-1566), Arthur Canon Doyle (1859-1930) - the spiritist, Aleister Crowley (1875-1947), another spiritist known as "the most evil man in the world" and "the animal 666", well a bit exaggerated; Guido von List, Jörg Lanz von Liebenfels and the "ariosophy", a bit similar to nazistical race-theories, James 1st, the writer of "*Daemonologie, in forme of a dialogue*" (1597), also known as "king in fogland"; Joseph Smith (1805-1844), the authoritarian prophet of the mormons, L. Ron Hubbard, the authoritarian "scientolog" leader, Elena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831-1891) and her "*Isis Unveiled*" (1877), the Russian theosophist, etc.; not to mention the greatest "fogarchs" of them all, Jesus Maryson, Muhammed, Buddha, etc. We don't necessary mean that all these non-anarchist fogarchical types were all among the bad guys, but they were not significant scientifical in an anarchist way, they were metaphorical and mixing up mythology and facts in a non-libertarian, more or less irrational mental fog, standing up as authorities and archs, rulers in fogland, - and thus not anarchist. But let us leave all these populist, marxian and

liberalist thinkers, and once more take a look at the libertarian **third alternative** as Ragnar Frisch called it:

Last, but not least in this short note on the history of thought relating to the economical-political map, it must be mentioned that the words socialdemocrat and liberal also have been used on economical-political tendencies outside the usual meaning of today, i.e. as marxian and liberalist tendencies respectively. Libertarian socialdemocratic and liberal tendencies are also known historically, mainly referring to federalist-decentralized as opposed to statist-centralized systems close to the more advanced part of the marxian and liberalist quadrants respectively, i.e. as a third alternative in the center above the midpoint of the Economical-Political Map - social or social-individualist/federalist anarchist systems and political tendencies. Say, Bakunin founded a "**socialdemocratic** alliance" related to the First International, and some libertarian writers, as an example Bertrand Russell, who had a significant libertarian tendency at least in his younger days, i.e. between 1910 and 1950, is also often labeled as **liberal**. Libertarian socialdemocrats and liberals may also be relevant political tendencies of today, related to **the third alternative**, way or societal form in the center of politics above the midpoint of the map. These libertarian, moderate anarchist tendencies of socialdemocracy and the liberal, must of course not be mixed up with the usual marxian and liberalist political tendencies of the same names. When talking about the socialdemocratic and liberal political tendencies, without adding the word libertarian, usually the marxian respectively liberalist tendencies are meant.

2. Use of the map for different forms of analysis - Anarchism: In the middle and left but not leftism and right, but not rightist

The Economical Political Map may also be used to explain Kropotkin's a bit misunderstood and too simplified hypothesis that anarchism is a party to the left, say in the article "Anarchism" in Encyclopædia Britannica 1910.

"As to their **economical conceptions**, the anarchists, in **common with all socialists (i.e. the socialist section on the EP map, facing/opposed to capitalism)**, of whom **they constitute the left wing (see explanation below)**, maintain that the ... capitalist production for the sake of profits, represent a monopoly which runs against both the principles of justice and the dictates of utility...[an]... obstacle which prevents the successes of modern technics from being brought into the service of all, so as to produce general well-being... But they point out also that the state was, and continues to be, the chief instrument for permitting the few to monopolize the land, and the capitalists [i.e. the all in all the economical plutarchs] to appropriate for themselves a quite disproportionate share of the yearly accumulated surplus [say, Gross National Product, GDP, environmental factors included, measured as benefit minus cost] of production. Consequently, while combating the present monopolization of land, and capitalism altogether, **the anarchists combat with the same energy the state... Not this or that special form, but the state altogether**, whether it be a monarchy or even a republic governed by means of the *referendum*. [NB! In some cases referendum used according to anarchist principles may be relevant]."

Thus, if you stand in the center of the Economical-political map (see map) with the nose fronting capitalism, you have *anarchism on the left*

hand and marxism on the right of the socialist part of the map. In this his way anarchism constitute "the left wing" of socialists, as Kropotkin mentions, but **anarchism is not far left** on the economical-political map as it is usually drawn, standing on the ultrafascist corner, with the anarchist-communist ideal at the top, in the middle of the map. **Anarchism is found from 25%-75%, i.e. in the middle on the left vs right axis on the EP-map, measured on a scale from zero towards 100% leftism.**

The hard criticism of Leninism by Kropotkin after the "Soviet" revolution clearly indicates he thinks marxism is reactionary, in a way to the "right", while anarchism is in a way to the "left". Kropotkins hard and still valid criticism of a) marxist economics, especially the labor theory of value, and the value added theory, which he clearly rejected with valid arguments, and b) the historical and other dialectics, which he also rejected as a non-scientific "method", in his book "Anarchism and modern science", also called "Modern science and anarchism", the unabridged full version, with preface written in Brighton 1913, must also be taken into account in this connection.

A basic principle of anarchism declared by Pjotr Kropotkin in "Modern science and Anarchism" 1903, and still valid anarchism, is the following:

"Anarchism is an attempt to apply to the study of the human institutions the generalizations gained by means of the natural-scientific inductive method; and an attempt to foresee the future steps of mankind on the road to liberty, equality, and fraternity, with a view to realizing the greatest sum of happiness for every unit of human society. This method it applies to all the so-called humanitarian sciences, and, availing itself of this method as well as of all researches which have recently been called forth by it... Anarchism endeavors to reconstruct all the sciences dealing with man, and to revise every current idea of right, justice, etc., on the bases [= methodology] which have served for the revision of all natural sciences. Whether or not Anarchism is right in its conclusions, will be shown by a scientific criticism of its bases [i.e. the anarchist principles in general, the basic libertarian working hypothesis and theories updated] and by the practical life... But in one thing it is absolutely right: in that it has included the study of social institutions in the sphere of natural-scientific investigations; and makes use of the method by which modern natural science ... were developed.

Owing to this, the very mistakes which Anarchism may have made in its researches can be detected the more readily. But its conclusions can be verified only by the same natural-scientific, inductive-deductive method by which every science and every scientific concept of the universe is created. **Anarchism does not recognize any method other than the natural-scientific.** No struggle can be successful if it is an unconscious one, and if it does not render itself a clear and concise account of its aim... [The method is a part of Anarchism]: Perhaps we are wrong and they are right. But **in order to ascertain who is right, it will not do either to quote this and that authority, to refer to Hegel's trilogy, or to argue by the "dialectic method."** This question can be settled only by **taking up the study of economic relations as facts of natural science.** Without entering into further discussion of the principles of Anarchism and the Anarchist programme

of action [called Anarchist praxeologi, human action research, today], enough has been said, I think, to show the place of Anarchism among the modern sociological sciences." [**Thus Anarchism is a modern sociological science broadly defined, including political economy etc, based on the methodology of modern natural sciences, not allowing for any form of dialectics of Hegelian type based on the formulæ thesis - antithesis - synthesis and other forms of pseudoscience.**]

A similar point of view was used by several other anarchists later on, that declared **"the fight against fascism begins with the fight against bolshevism"**, a word of wisdom often connected to Otto Rühle, in his early days he was a council commie, but later on changed his policy into a form of anarchism, related to anarchosyndicalism. Today this is a rather general policy of anarchism. The concept "Bolshevism" means marxism in general, and especially **council communism**, i.e. marxist-lubbeism, marxist-ochlarchism, Pannekoekism, "anarchist" or "libertarian" (read: pseudo or semi-libertarian) communism, "platformism", and similar other forms, of (marxian) collectivism or leftism, Luxembourgeoisism, plus leninism, stalinism, titoism, trotskyism and maoism, broadly defined.

While anarcho-communism is a) based on utilitarian and humanist principles, cost vs benefit analysis, accounting etc. and as Kropotkin mentioned mainly against "a republic governed by means of the *referendum*", i.e. as a principle, the marxian council communism and collectivism are principally based on referendum, in "workers' councils" on different levels of organization. Everyone that has been at a maoist, trotskyite, platformist and/or lubbeist "allmøtediktatur", workers' council "direct democracy" (read: dictatorship based on ochlarchy) know that this is not anarchism or anarchy, and usually not even semilibertarian, but clearly authoritarian. The utopian, unrealistic character of council commie referendum or consent based unionism in a modern society, should be clear to all, it may perhaps have functioned well locally in a Russian "Mir" agricultural co-operative small town with a few products and mainly autarky in the old days, however the total amount of cases and different ways of production and products in a modern society will make the system's cost, measured, say, in time used of discussion and deciding, be enormous, the system being very inefficient and unfair, and soon make way for party dictatorship. Thus, platformists and council commies and similar, if not directly trotskyite, maoist or leftist etc. provokers, are just the "useful" idiots of Lenin and authoritarians in general. The anarchists must of course as much as possible stop the platformist and other council commie and marxist-lubbeist infiltration, ochlarchy and false posing as 'anarchist' in general. We repeat, platformism and council commie "anarchism" is not anarchism or anarchist, have never been anarchy, anarchist, anarchists and/or anarchism, and will never be.

Council communism, platformism included, in its more radical utopian lubbeist variants, sometimes falsely posing as "anarchist" communism, i.e. "Children of Marx" and "socialist infantile disorder", as Lenin called it, functioning and/or directly being frontorganizations of trotskyite, maoist, and leftist marxism, have nothing to do with anarchism and anarchy, the "children of Marx" always acting as an authoritarian travesty of anarchy, throwing shit on the idea of anarchy,

anarchism and freedom in general, and functioning reactionary. The fight against fascism starts with the fight against bolshevism, especially council commies and platformists and their lubbeist ochlarchy, falsely posing as anarchy, anarchists, anarchism.

These points of view **may thus be considered as special forms of use of the map**, and **not** as arguments against it. The factual situation, that anarchism goes gliding from semilibertarian marxism on the left, sometimes **wrongly** called "anarchomarxism", via the middle of the map, over to semilibertarian liberalism, **wrongly** called "anarchocapitalism", on the right, also is a good argument for the way the map is put, i.e. standing on the ultrafascist extreme corner. Both "anarchomarxism", i.e. "anarcho-statism" [= anarchy-archies], and "anarchocapitalism", i.e. "anarchoplutarchy" are however not valid concepts, but contradictional and not scientific, and thus should not be used. These "concepts" are not anarchist or anarchism, but strictly marxism and liberalism respectively, in a state of confusion. The collectivist "anarchomarxism" is too statist to be anarchist, i.e. it is based on statism. The "anarchocapitalism" is too capitalistic to be anarchist, i.e. it is plutarchist.

Also Kropotkin's antimilitarist and non-pacifist support for the allies in the 1st World War, together with several other prominent anarchists, in the famous "Manifesto of the 16", is probably a logical deduction of his consistent, scientifically based, general anarchist ideas. Thus, opportunistic to take a pasifist stand in this case, as, say, Malatesta did, but in general accept Kropotkins anarchist ideas, is probably inconsistent, and thus not a valid argument. Kropotkins hard criticism of neoclassical and classical liberalistic political economy, is still worth while reading. The development of Kropotkin's ideas from the first issue of "Modern science and anarchism" (1903), probably his most important work, to the final edition 1913, with modification of earlier hypothesis, is also interesting. However some modifications implies an improvement seen in perspective, others not.

It is clear from these arguments that **anarchism is not leftism**, or to the left on the economical-political map, or a part of the left side in politics, in the meaning relatively close to the left corner of the economical-political map. There exists a libertarian, i.e. anarchist, left, but it is not far left on the economical-political map. No anarchism is found more than half way (>50%) to the left on the map, i.e. of the distance from the midpoint towards the left corner of the map, i.e. leftist. It is also clear that anarchism is not rightist. There exists a libertarian, i.e. anarchist right, but it is not far right on the map. No anarchism is found more than half way (>50%) to the right on the map, i.e. of the distance from the midpoint towards the right corner of the map, i.e. rightist. To say that anarchism is far left or far right, leftist or rightist, is due to misunderstandings of realities and a scientific point of view, as far as the arguments above are valid. And these arguments are difficult to reject, many have tried to test and reject them, using different alternatives in a consistent way, but it didn't work out. All alternatives so far have been rejected due to inconsistencies, Occhams razor, being explained better as special cases by use of the map, than separate alternative theories, or rejected by other arguments. The conclusion is: **Anarchism may be to the left but not be leftism, as well as be to the right, but not being rightist.** In the following we shall take a

more principal, and not so much historical perspective, on the methodology of anarchism.

3. The scientific basis of anarchism - methodology

Before this part should be read, the above chapters 1 and 2, should be read, to get a better understanding. Kropotkin's point of view, that anarchist science is based on the **same methods as the natural sciences** materialistic **inductive-deductive** adaptations of generalisations, including the use of testable hypothesis in an **hypothetical-deductive** framework, and mathematical relations, scepticism, free matter of fact criticism, and consistent accumulation and updating of knowledge, is still valid. Kropotkin's main statements about - and arguments for - this methodology in "Modern Science and Anarchism", issued preliminary in 1903 and new versions in 1913, the book sometimes alternatively called "Anarchism and modern science" (say, in the Swedish edition in 1914 a.l.), is still working, although in some details modified a bit, due to rejection using this method in a critical way later on. A summary of the method declared by Kropotkin in this book is quoted at <http://www.anarchy.no/kropot1.html> .

Thus, valid anarchism is consistent accumulated knowledge based on rejection of working hypothesis that failed, and accounting for summa hypothesis confirmed so far, i.e. what is still valid, and all of the time introducing new working hypothesis for testing, etc. in a research spiral, steadily increasing the total capital of valid knowledge, to use for more and more optimal **planning** and **actions**. Thus, the tendency is increasingly better approximations to reality, as Kropotkin stated. It is possible to take a wrong step for a while, but it will probably soon be rejected by facts, and corrected. This scientific method is principally opposed to the **hermeneutical** framework broadly defined, i.e. dialectical, metaphysical, "divine origin", dogmatism, metaphors and interpretation of old prophets, gurus, and their writings, "common sence", etc. "Common sence" may often be a good thing, but history of science demonstrates that it is not always working well in scientific perspective. Often science breaks through "common sence". Say, the concept of a flat earth in the center of the univers, absolutely defined, was common sence not so far ago.

This method is also **nomothetical**, seeking general principles and relations, in contrast to **idiographical** empirism, concentrating on singel cases, without using the general accumulated and updated theory as framework. Thus, history and praxeology (the theory of human action in general) in anarchist science are analysed and understood with use of the updated general framework, i.e. seen in the context of the great lines in history and theory, not analysed as isolated individual events. The term *praxeology* was probably first used in 1890 by Espinas, but the theory was introduced as a more general framework by Ludwig von Mises, a more or less semilibertarian liberalist. He however, like Frisch for a while, did the authoritarian error to think his a priori relations were absolutely certain dogmas. They are in fact based on politically questionable assumptions. It must here be mentioned, as indicated above, that not all relevant economic relations are **statistically** testable in a meaningful way. The practically always valid ecocirc relations may be based on a priori conditions in a way that if "tested" statistiscally with consistent data, say, by regression analysis, are always 100% proof, similar to pure logic deductive mathematics. However they are not unconditionally and absolutely certain anyway, because

they may be based on more or less realistic assumptions, in the meaning of revealing more or less interesting things in a political economy and social organization context.

This is a bit parallel to the discussion in mathematics about Euclidian vs Bolyai/Lobatsjevskij's and Riemann's geometry, related to different interpretations of the parallel principle or axiom. Riemann made them all special cases of a more general theory in his work "Über die Hypothesen, welche der Geometrie zu Grunde liegen" (1854). In political economy however the differences are partly political. In the general theory of anarchist economics, the different models, Monetarist, Keynesian, neo-classical, Marxian, Austrian, etc. are seen as special cases of the same general theory of anarchist economics, i.e. also explaining other types of systems, marxist, liberalistic and populist/fascist. Outside the ecocirc type relations, that are practically always valid, there are other relations that are of the same type as in physics and biology, and some are about as uncertain as the ones used in meteorology. These other relations are meaningful to test by statistical methods, say, with regression analysis or other statistical means.

To understand social science, and political economy in general, it is necessary to understand the differences between these types of relations, a) the taxonomical **ecocirc** type of different political tendencies, i.e. practically always valid and not meaningful to test statistically, similar to the pure mathematical synthetical relations, and b) the other relations, i.e. meaningful to test statistically, and principally not practically certain, as say Einsteins $E = Mc^2$, where E = energy, "work" and M = mass, "real capital", and c = speed of light in vacum, "cosmic interest rate" interpreted as an eternal cosmic constant in space and time. Thus cM the "revenue" is exchanged to energy, i.e. "work" per c (the "interest rate" = speed of light = ca 299 792,5 km/s). A very strange "exchange relation" between energy and matter, i.e. "work" and "realcapital" in the universe. It should be rather likely that c is not a constant over time and space, as W. McCracken suggests, opposing Einstein, but probably varying a lot. Thus it may happen that c falls, and thus there sometimes will be less energy related to the mass in the universe, and sometimes more, if c hikes. In the "worst case scenario" c becomes 0 and there will only be just dead matter, no energy at that time and place in the universe, and of course no moving light. It will all be frozen matter, without any energy.

The IIFOR has in 2002 received an interesting preliminary working paper from the eco-cosmolog W. McCracken, giving the interesting eco-cosmological interpretation of $E = Mc^2$ mentioned above. This however is **not** an ecocirc relation, but a meaningful statistical testable hypothesis, a relation of type b). However as McCracken points out, the special form of the relation **is based on underlying assumptions** on how the smallest physical and chemical particles and waves work together, and **is probably not stable over cosmic place and time**, say, probably not valid in giant exploding "big bangs" and imploding enormous "black holes" (if any) and perhaps not relatively short after such events. The cosmology will be quite different if it is assumed that, say, c has fallen over time since the possible last "big bang" in our part of the universe, or variates over time and space in conjunctural type cosmic waves. Another interesting hypothesis that the "red shifting" (Doppler-effect) and seemingly

accelerating expansion of the visible universe seen from Tellus (earth) today, may be due to an enormous gravitational force field outside our visible universe, pulling it outwards, and not thus not a "big bang", just ca 10 - 15 000 000 000 years ago (12 000 000 000 has been a usual), as many astronomers think today. Perhaps there are enormous cosmical conjunctures or "tide waves" in space and time, and that the universe is eternally old or at least , say, old > 10 - 15 000 000 000 000 000 000 000 years.

Here we will just point to the possibilities. We will however follow McCracken's and other eco-cosmologs' work with interest in the future. They are probably really into something big. If we could change "c" locally it would be very interesting for human welfare in the real long run, i.e. the billions of years perspective. It also has interesting perspectives for possibly other lifeforms in outer space and travelling in space and time, although IIFOR **strongly rejects** the so called UFO research of today, that is clearly not scientific, but pseudo-science, having almost all well known faults of quasi-science with respect to method and critical use of it. By the way, as McCracken points out $E = Mcc$ means E, energy, "work" is direct proportional to M, mass, "realcapital" , with the factor $cc = 299\,792,5 \times 299\,792,5 = 89\,875\,543\,000,0 =$ ca 90 billions (milliarder) related to km, seconds and the relevant measures of energy and matter. Why $E = ca\,M90b = M(89\,875\,543\,000)$, i.e. proportionally with that special factor, always in vacum, at least in our part of the univers at our time, seem from our place, Einstein and his followers really has no good explanation for. And the anarchists as well as other people are very eager to know why it is so, because when we know why, it will probably be possible to find a method to change it, and make more efficient engines for travel in space, and for producing energy on earth.

(We have later received a message from W. McCracken that he 1. in his preliminary discussion paper referred above was using a term of the type " $E/c = cM$, ecocirc", the use of "...." indicating it was not really an ecocirc relation, but statistically testable, and thus 2. should not be treated as an a priori syntethic relation, i.e. ecocirc, but as a non-apriori statistically testable hypothesis, and that is just why he 3. was discussing the conditions behind the relation, i.e. it should not be taken as a dogma, the special proportionality between energy and matter, ca $E = M90b$, in vacum. 4. And thus, like any other sicientist, even Einstein is probably not telling the whole truth and nothing but the truth in this matter, but only reflecting the conditions in our part of the universe in our time, and that we should not dogmatic do "eternally" generalizations. Well, then the misunderstandings is done with, and we can all continue with further research. We thank McCracken for his clarifying message.)

Neither of the relations of type a) and b) is unconditional and absolute truths. It is possible to put up (thinkable or real) alternatives, situations where such principles or axioms are not fulfilled, without being contradictional. Thus scientific, consistent alternatives principally exist. Say, the relation $2 + 2 = 4$ is true because of the axiom that no thing doubles itself or disappears by itself, which is practically always true, i.e. an ecocirc type relation. A more chaotic world where the opposite may happen, and, say, mass is not constant under certain conditions, is however thinkable. If mass is not constant, putting two things on the table may result in just one thing (the other disappears suddenly

by itself) or three things on the table (one of the things doubles by itself). However in our part of the universe today, such things do not happen, practically certain, so $2 + 2 = 4$ is practically always valid in this context. Thus both relations of type a) and b) are synthetic relations, say something about realities, they are not just analytical. An analytical relation, per definition, always make a logical or mathematical contradiction if you put up an alternative, it is based on principles of construction of a logical language and symbols, and principally don't deal with realities.

Thus analytical concepts and formulas are relations in the Platonic world of ideas, symbols and expressing a consistent way of thinking, without aspiration to say something directly about realities. They deal principally with formalities, not realities. Although they are not based on axioms, conditions and assumptions about realities, they are not unconditional, but state the basic axioms and relations of reason and thinking. $A = A$ and "everything is either A or not A", is the two basic analytical axioms and relations. The opposite implicates chaos and contradictions, non-scientifical foggy metaphores, pseudo-understanding. Logical tautologies (valid) and contradictions (not valid) are among the analytical relations. These axioms and relations express the fundaments for reason, the scientifical way of thinking, i.e. the basis for real human knowledge, civilisation, as opposed to foggy metaphores, dialectical and "magical" formulæ, all kinds of primitive, unclear expressions, eventually the primitive roar, scream or cry, and talking with the fists, similar to animals, apes included. Thus, it is the ultimate language that make us real humans, different from the primitive and animals. This is of course also the fundament for anarchist science, anarchists are not "primitivists in the way of thinking" as, say marxists, with their dialectical formulæ.

Thus the method of modern natural (including social) science includes:

1. **analytical** practically always certain relations, saying something on, or defining a) the logic and the scientific way of thinking and b) what is not,
2. the **synthetic** practically certain taxonomical **ecocirc** type relations, that are based on conditions, axioms and assumptions about realities, **may be a priori** based logic deductive relations, in social science often dependent on political conditions and assumptions, and thus may be anarchist, marxist, liberalist or populist/fascist, these concepts seen nomothetically and not historical idiographical, but these relations are **not meaningful testable statistically**, and
3. **synthetic** more or less uncertain relations, say, of the type a) Einstein's $E = Mcc$, and similar **rather certain** relations, **but meaningful to test statistically**, and not thus exact and often a priori based as the ecocirc type; b) the ca proportional relation between food production/consumption and size of the population on earth and similar, i.e. **relatively certain** as a rule of the thumb, and c) meteorological relations that are **very uncertain**, and similar, including politics, where results may be more or less influenced by human action, praxeology. Here of course politics are very much dependent on human action, but the climate and weather are perhaps only marginally influenced by pollution and other man-made problems, however there is a possible connection.

4. In addition to 1, 2 and 3, science operates with conventionally decided relations and definitions of standards on measurement, say, the choice between miles and km, liter vs gallons, etc. These conventional relations on calibration and measurement make the links between theory and practical research, but should principally not have influence on the research results and methods. There may however occur errors like measuring input with output, and not hitting the principal target of the measure very well. In social sciences these conventionally decided definitions may be influenced by political tendencies and thus are not trivial. The discussion on intersubjective vs objective on this web-page shows that this is not a trivial questions.

As political actions in anarchism are principally based on the scientific method, since the Kropotkinian methodology is accepted with general consent as well as on several congresses world wide and historically, and the alternative is politics based on pseudoscience and /or ignorance, ochlarchy or majority or minority dictatorship, or consensus based on false conditions, that must be rejected; - everybody that will participate in the decision process in anarchist context MUST learn the basic principle of the anarchist, scientific way of thinking, always think in rejectable working hypothesis perspective and not dogmatic, taking into account the basic practically certain ecocirc relations, realistic scenarios, being matter of fact and critical to own and other's proposals for action, always do dialog in this perspective, and give feedback to further research according to abilities. Any tendency of non-scientific, dialectical and other foggy way of thinking must be rejected by all anarchists. Thus scientifically based investigations, also based on anarchist principles, ecocirc and other relations, in a consistent way, **to achieve the best argument or working hypothesis among the best**, i.e. the basis for anarchist decision making, and unless special cases, **not** voting and minority or majority decisions/dictatorship, but to put it simple: **"Best argument wins"**. This of course is not only a question of finding the solution, planning, but also the implementing of it, i.e. the praxeological element broadly defined.

That's why, say, the second Anarchist Biennial 1992 in Oslo did not vote over the resolution at <http://www.anarchy.no/aneco1.html> , but discussed the evidence, assumptions and the deductions in a scientific way, and when finding nothing to reject, accepted it. It may be said that it was unanimously decided upon or decided by general consent, which is also true, but this is really irrelevant and not necessary. To vote over whether "the earth is flat or round" is neither relevant nor necessary. The better investigated a question is in anarchist context, the less reason to vote, as a general rule of the thumb in this context. That we make voting usually not necessary, does of course not mean that the decisions are non-political and neutral. In the investigations we use the people's perspective, and what is in the interest of the poorest and most impoverished majority of the population in a country, the repressed in other ways, etc., not the national(ist) "we are all in the same boat" perspective or the authorities, the upper classes perspective. **We investigate scientifically what is in the interest of the people, the poorest and repressed majority of the population, and thus what is democratically interesting, also using anarchist principles in general, and find the best way ahead on different items, the best argument, that wins in the decision process, the solution**

based on competence; then we implement it, and that's the way anarchists do it (or should do it). Then we use the new experience as feedback for new research and decisions and actions within the same framework, and a research and praxeological circle, theory and practice, always learning from faults and success, to increasingly higher levels of understanding and to the benefit of the people, i.e. all the individuals involved, seen in the relevant context, as say, summarized at the www.anarchy.no , etc., i.e. new updates of the anarchist research front, i.e. valid anarchism, and so on

This, the anarchist way of decision making, planning and research, is the direct opposite to marxism, i.e. bureaucratically and/or based on workers councils voting over scientific results, trying to decide scientific questions administratively and political. Lysenko-ism, "official history-writing" with people disappearing on pictures and facts denied, etc. are typical examples. The fascists and especially the nazis are not better, using Göbbels infamous statement "If you repeat a lie enough, it becomes the truth", and "reforming" history, say with denial of holocaust, etc.. There are non-scientific tendencies also in liberalistic and pseudo-anarchistic history-writing, say, as investigated by Noam Chomsky in his works on "Manufacturing consent." It must however be mentioned that even Chomsky is sometimes participating in the false "manufacturing of consent", or the **alienation system** (search for it in this file for definition) in general, say, by acting more or less as a "fogarch" and guru at the World Social Forum 2002, see <http://www.anarchy.no/wefwsf.html> , and seen in the general context at <http://www.anarchy.no/ija431.html> i.e. the International Conference on Terrorism and <http://www.anarchy.no/apt.html>, and at the International Anarchist Tribunal in general. There are by all means also a "manufacturing of consent" with respect to the marxian leftist "political correctness". It must be pointed out clear and loud that Noam Chomsky today often acts as a "useful" idiot of the marxian left on the economical political map, quoted and reprinted often as a "witness of truth", say in the trotskyite and maoist newspaper "Klassekampen" in Norway, similar papers world wide, and at a lot of mainly marxist mailing lists on Internet. We must say, "leider", dear Noam - you act a bit naive sometimes: "Do you hear over there in Canada, Noam C.???!! (It is meant mainly as a rhetorical question, but perhaps he is getting a bit deaf in his old days? Who knows? - Time will show...)

However Noam Chomsky's basic point of view, that anarchism is *rational libertarian socialism*, stated, say, in the two TV-programs on "Manufacturing Consent" dedicated to a.o.t. the people of East Timor (IIFOR has a copy of them recorded from NRK), and thus principally rejecting marxian dialectical and other forms of irrational, pseudo-scientific theory and practice, and standing firm on the scientific method introduced to anarchism by Kropotkin, is of course still valid. In the programs Chomsky is pointing to Rosa Luxembourg as a less authoritarian marxian than the leninists, and that is probably right. But this must not be interpreted wrongly as Chomsky is accounting Rosa Luxembourg as anarchist, which in any case is totally wrong. Rosa

Luxembourg is a leftist marxian, with party political, council communist ideas, relatively far from the anarchist quadrant on the economical political map. Rosa Luxembourg herself already in 1906 took a clear stand against anarchism, and never changed this opinion later on. Other marxian council communists as, say, Anton Pannekoek is probably a bit closer to anarchism, but not anarchist. Council communism, all of it -- marxist-lubbeism and Soviet communism, etc., included, is in no way anarchism or anarchist. To the left within the anarchist quadrant we find anarchist collectivism, anarcho-collectivism and, say, anarchosyndicalism, not council communism, i.e. marxian or marxistoid, clearly within the marxist quadrant on the economical political map broadly defined, and thus not anarchist or anarchism.

Not everybody can directly develop new practically always valid ecocirc, other relations and realistic scenarios, and be anarchist scientists, but **everybody can think scientifically**, and contribute by matter of fact criticism, and do dialog, on the research results and actions, to improve both, more and more.

One important part of anarchist research is **consistency analysis**, among other things checking for and ruling out unrealistical optimistical political dreams and inconsistencies, in Norwegian often called "overbudspolitikk" (overbid pseudopolicy) and "stå på krava aksjoner" (unrealistical diseconomical actions). In this context use of relevant ecocirc may be useful. Another very important part of anarchist research is **the general theory of revealed preference** in social science. This theory is build upon the basic assumption that humans acts more or less with purpose, not as ants, and thus the real preferences or aims of the individual (or aggregated for a group), can be revealed by the performance, behavior, the way they act, as opposed to what they may say or tell in programs etc, that may be influenced by propagandistical bluff broadly defined. As humans are not perfectly rational, there may be more or less random things affecting behavior in addition to the purpose, the preferences. But throughout a series of observations of the unit, i.e. the research object, we may principally make an estimate of the general tendency of the behavior, and more or less rule out the random elements, and by the general theories of human behavior as more or less an optimalization of preferences using different activities and actions vis-à-vis given constraints, i.e. acting with purpose, also estimate the implicit, aims or values (i.e., say, marginal utility, welfare, satisfaction of needs, or preferences) behind the behavior, i.e. **reveale the real preferences** behind the actions taken. As people often may have advantages of systemathically not stating their real purposes and aims, say, to get support from others, especially authorities and bureaucrats broadly defined, small or big, or people aspiring to be so, i.e. say, persons that want to make other people slave for them, economically and/or political/administrative, - this general theory is very important to reveale the real preferences and thus expose what **is really going on**, and **what they are up to**, and thus make it more possible to put the authorities/bureaucrats at place, or make them non-authorities.

The bureaucrats and authorities, socio- and psychopats, fogarchs, - included, and their groups, organizations and systems, formal or informal, small or big, criminal or not, usually **simply hate** this theory and the use of it, and often do a lot to stop such research, revealing journalism included, by cutting funds,

budgets, closing data supplies, abuse, ochlarchy, sometimes by secret police, "legal" action, sacking people, closing doors and institutions, censoring, and direct physical violence, sometimes jailing or make people "disappear" (killing) people. However such research must go on anyway, because it is an important tool for creating (more) anarchy; equality, solidarity, equality etc, sometimes alone, published via the media, and sometimes as background for legal and other actions. In Norway, and many other countries, the revealed preference research and results are protected formally by the constitution, stating "frimodige ytringer mot statsstyrelsen er tillatt", i.e. free criticism of the authorities, the government in social perspective, is allowed. However constitution is one thing - practice may be something else. Often people and institutions normally positive to research, get "cold feet" and back out, when they find out what kind of research is going on, not willing to risk the neck. Of the total funds and budgets for research and critical journalism, not so much is used on analysis within the framework of the theory of revealed preferences broadly defined, even in the Anarchy of Norway. It could very well be more, in Norway as well as world wide.

The nomothetical approach makes it possible to draw on the whole lot of historical facts revealed by updated methods to test and reject hypothesis, and learn from history at large, for improved actions. **Kropotkin stated that use of this scientific method will ensure that mistakes done by the anarchists related to their conclusions, easily may be detected, and corrected.** No wonder IIFOR and other real anarchist research institutes stick to the same scientific methods as Kropotkin, and rejects all forms of dialectics, marxist included, and also metaphysical and other non-testable theories, all forms of "anarchistology" and "anarchosophy" included. Absolutely and unconditionally knowledge, i.e. the Truth, with big T, cannot be revealed and proved by real scientific methods, however practically always valid relations, and thus good approximations to reality, may sometimes be found, and such relations, mathematically and graphically formulated, are the fundamentals of anarchism and a main aim of anarchist research. Anarchism has no religion/ideology, and no "devils", but look scientifically and critically on the matter and different cases, having plutarchy and statism as possible working hypothesis for problems in the society, but also look on other items, proportional to realities, trying to be as objective as possible. The most of the analysis is about realistic *alternatives*, a scientific social *organization theory* for life without statism and plutarchy..

That **some** of Kropotkin's own conclusions and hypothesis **on a few details**, say,

a) in biology (an openness towards Lamarckism, which later is rejected by other researchers. Kropotkin's viewpoint of **mutual aid** as one of the major tendencies in biological evolution is however still valid), and

b) in law (a tendency to avoid written laws; say, "... **Anarchism - which aspires to Justice** (a term synonymous with equality) more than any other **lawgiver** in the world - has..." rejected it (Kropotkin 1903). Kropotkins view in this matter is not 100% clear, but his main working hypothesis at that time clearly was a tendency towards natural law, customary law and (unwritten) common law, although written laws seem all in all not to be absolutely rejected

by Kropotkin. This is so because he in the same chapter in the book where he is mainly rejecting written laws, he himself also declares the following written law: **"Do not to others what you would not have done to yourself."** (In Swedish the 1913/14 edition this is changed towards the similar biblical notion, however both are valid ethical laws of today and should be fulfilled). Thus in practice he uses written laws. As contradictions is not allowed according to Kropotkin's methodology, practice shows that his hypothesis about rejecting written laws, as a general always valid rule, must be rejected. Probably he in this case is also discussing the anarchist ideal, i.e. 100% anarchy, that is merely a theoretical concept that we only may asymptotically approximately achieve. For less ideal anarchist situations more written laws should probably be optimal. **Anyway the opposite, only unwritten law will reduce the courts' quality and security and right-security, and probably open for ochlarchy, i.e. contradict real, libertarian law and optimal order and the *principle of social justice*, and thus must be rejected. Furthermore customary laws may sometimes be quite reactionary and difficult to renew in a progressive, libertarian way. In general the principles of anarchism should be more basic than customary law.**

Thus, when Kropotkin in some of his works is very much against the laws, this is mainly referring to authoritarian juridical laws, especially the very authoritarian laws of those days authorities, serving mainly the upper classes and working against the people. He is not against laws in general, declaring loud and clear that **anarchism is a lawgiver**, as stated above. Kropotkin also had probably a slight tendency to underestimate "free rider" problems, criminality, ochlarchy and chaos, and thus being a bit like a quasi-revolutionistic fog-arch (although not as much as Marx), which is clearly authoritarian. However a probably more than optimal number of written laws in many countries, should also be taken into account, in this perspective. This indicates too much bureaucracy costs and should be avoided. People must learn to solve conflicts peacefully without legal quibbling and calling on police for everything, i.e. as a part of the education broadly defined.

To have a good and **libertarian moral** in society, mostly based on unwritten common law and culture, generally accepted and working in society, and relatively few written laws, is of course an ideal of anarchism, including real law and order and human rights. A basically immoral, ochlarchical, authoritarian society, with no real **culture** based on efficiency and fairness and working libertarian unwritten common laws, due to lack of education broadly defined, combined with a lot of juridical, written laws and a police state, plus an "inform against" habit, is far from ideal. The anarchist theory of **"optimal indoctrination"**, i.e. **not** meant in a derogative or authoritarian way, but just **"in-learning"** on equal footing, non-ochlarchical, in a libertarian way - of a **sufficient amount of libertarian ethics and human rights** through education broadly defined, private via the family, and public via day care centers and schools, and participation in relevant other organizations and via media, is a must in an anarchist society. A keyword in this education is **large freedom of choice for the children, but with rational and relatively firm borders** set according to anarchist principles in general. No education means "children power", and that is not anarchist. Parents must probably be educated

to this task. No ethical education to produce moral, is no good education. The anarchist theory of "optimal indoctrination" was first formulated by the **Culture Syndicate** in Norway in the early 1970s. Although of course not meant in a derogative or authoritarian way, the term "indoctrination" indicates a **libertarian, but firm in-learning** of the basic principles and borders, not to take freedoms at others expense, making other people slave for you one way or the other, but also not accept to slave the other way around, say accepting slave-contracts. In moral and ethical education, consistency is a must, not dialectical, contradictory, Orwellian "1984" double-thinking. The liberation of grown up people must principally be based on own work, not others.

The opposite: Strong rule in education, and especially with chaotic tendencies according to the rule of the boss: §1 The parents are always right. §2 If this is not the case §1 at once rules, - sometimes allowing x and otherways not x, and ruling by violence and fear, imposing slavery and hierarchy, the right to the strongest, economical and non-economical, is making an authoritarian, cynical, criminal and psychopatic personality, i.e. fascistoid. This must be avoided.

Kropotkin mainly leaves the research and founding of optimal anarchist law and court systems to the future: "... We may analyze the extent to which the idea of *Justice* implies that of *Equailty*. The question is an important one, because only those who regard *others* as their equals can accept the rule, "**Do not to others what you would not have done to yourself.**" The landlord and the slave-owner, who did not look upon "the serf" and the negro as their equals, did not recognize the "categorical imperative" and the "universal law" as applicable to these unhappy members of the human family. And then, if this observation of ours be correct, we shall wee whether it is at all possible to inculcate morality while teaching the doctrine of inequality.... We shall finally analyze ... the facts of self-sacrifice. And then we shall consider what has promoted the development in man of moral feelings - first, of those which are intimately connected with the idea of equality, and then of the others; and after this consideration we should be able to deduce from our study exactly what social conditions and what institutions promise the best results for the future ... now we are able to approach the study of burning social questions in exactly the same manner as the gardener and the physiologist take up the study of the conditions most favorable for the growth of a plant - let us do so!") and

c) in **economics "first consumption" - "production on the other hand"**, (1903) a bit strange division that if taken literally may contribute to reduce real capital, goods in stock, or export surplus, in a disoptimal way; remember (consumption = production - real investment - exportsurplus), so consumption without production strictly means negative realinvestment and/or exportsurplus, i.e. a foreign trade deficit. Obviously this cannot go on for long, especially if the system shall be relatively efficient and fair, including ca. full employment at an optimal level. While it is going on, since it is work free consumption/income/profit, it may be seen as looting the future and/or foreigners. The "first consumption" - "production on the other hand" point of view is however modified a bit in the 1913 edition of "Modern Science and Anarchism", where consumption is closer connected to production. Kropotkin's partly rejection of Proudhon's "labor pollets", and implicately also "time store" ideas, which is quite logical taking into account his valid rejection of the labor

theory of value and the value added theory, but without really suggesting any better means of payment to allocate scarce resources, goods and services, in an efficient and fair way, indicates another weakness in his system.

Kropotkin indicated a system of accounting, plans and exchange without money, which is also found in Ragnar Frisch's work on a planned direct exchange economy, "varebyttesentraler" - "goods-exchange-centrals", which today is mainly rejected in anarchist economics as being too bureaucratic, inefficient and unfair in a modern society with a lot of goods and services of different kinds and quality characteristics broadly defined. The means of payment problem, i.e. to achieve efficient and fair transactions, i.e. also minimalizing transactions costs broadly defined, is however principally **solved now**, with, say, electronical accounting and convertible labor credits, **by other anarchist researchers**. (These labor credits are however not based on the bureaucratic rule "worktime for worktime exchange" of the "time store" idea, which is rejected because the labor theory of value is usually not valid. However if the population is approximately optimal in all societies in a country, and free contracts (i.e. not slave-contracts), etc. are in use, the system will **end up with** small rank and income differences, and thus approximately have one to one remuneration per work-hour, although this is rejected as a rule in itself, introduced as a bureaucratic tie on transactions.)

Not taken literally, Kropotkin's "first ...on the other hand" hypothesis in this matter may just indicate that demand-management determines production via the anarchist economic law of employment, which is practically always valid. This was indicated already by Frisch (and Haavelmo), and more fully developed by later anarchist economists, but without the "varebyttesentraler" approach) ;

d) **a slight tendency towards "anarchosophy"**, i.e. to not divide properly between anarchist science and anarchist politics, and thinking of the whole system as "scientifical". Such **"scientosophy"**, sometimes also including tendencies of predeterministic "fate and destiny" - thinking, must principally be rejected, mainly because it is a form of totalitarianism, similar to marxism. However it is probably not in Kropotkin's spirit to interpret his contribution to anarchist science in a totalitarian direction, although he is a bit unclear on this item. We must of course admit that theoretically all events in society (and in general) may principally have a scientifical explanation, also political events. But this is not the same as to say that politics is identical to science, although politics always should take into account the results of scientifical research in a relevant way. Marxist "scientifical socialism" is a terrible example of how wrong it may go if anarchist science wrongly turns into "anarchosophy". Trofim Lysenko's quasibiology and the labor theory of value used in economical planning are just the top of the iceberg. A deterministic system is **not** the same as a **predeterministic** system based on "fate and destiny". People have a choice to act with purpose, optimize under socially and naturally given constraints, and to some extent they **may define the purposes themselves**. This **praxeological** approach was mainly introduced by L. v. Mises, however in a bit dogmatic manner, that are rejected today. There is also a slight chaotical contradictive tendency, in a few statements in the book. Kropotkin is not sticking 100% to the Proudhonian view that the anarchist ideal includes order. These few statements is today rejected by using the scientifical method. Such

statements are omitted in the summary on the method at <http://www.anarchy.no/kropot1.html> .

Furthermore Kropotkin's slight tendency towards analogies from mechanical physics (Newton, Laplace) and machines, and/or biology, a bit similar to typical neoclassical economic theory, as a "world view" including social science, is today rejected by anarchist research. Mechanical and biological analogies are principally not scientific, and should be avoided. Also non-anarchist so called "general systems theory" is based on analogies to biological and mechanical systems, and is rejected as non-scientific by anarchism. The social, i.e. the economical-political, systems broadly defined; institutions, means of payment, structure and human relations, i.e. at least the man made parts of it, is principally no mystery to understand and map with approximately practical certainty, and the search for the basic relations must be found by **direct research on such structures and relations**, as they are, have been - **or may be - constructed**, and **not** by using mechanical or biological analogies. The origin of the social systems is not a basic mystery, as the natural science's fundamental questions of the origins of space, matter, forces and time, and the so far not exactly explained development from dead matter to life. Humans may do exactly what they want, creating new institutions, structures and relations, within the framework of the basic practically always valid relations, direct related to basic characteristics of the human constructions of society, the social, i.e. the economics and the political/administrative broadly defined, in private and public sectors. A combination of practically always valid basic social scientific relations, combined with scenario-analysis and simulation-models, is a useful tool in the investigations and for planning and action purposes, strategical as well as tactical.

e) **a slight tendency to not divide clearly between *normative (welfare theory)* and principally *descriptive relations*** and variables, clarify value judgements and principles from the rest of the relations, and analyse what is the impact of different value judgments on the conclusions, -

f) **a tendency of advocating small scale firms**, i.e. in "Fields, factories and workshops", in contrast to Proudhon, who advocated use of the **collective force** of industrial federations in production, i.e. large scale benefits. This tendency of Kropotkin is however not based on "Small is beautiful" as a principle, but what he believed was most valuable in a societal context, using statistics as background for the hypothesis. The decisions about small vs large scale production must of course be decided according to what is most valuable in a societal context, benefits - costs related to efficiency and fairness, also taking into account environmental factors, and not in advance, dogmatically. Sometimes small scale is optimal, sometimes not.

today are **mainly - or partly - rejected** as being wrong or not sufficient, - do not reject his main works and conclusions. A lot of Kropotkins and also Proudhons works are part of the updated research front on anarchism, however as indicated, far from all. These rejections and additions have been done by using Kropotkin's own scientific principles for anarchist investigations, the same methods as of the natural sciences, and thus must be considered as a victory for Kropotkin's **main** ideas on anarchism, and not a rejection of them. *Kropotkin's broad based social scientific approach, with **political economy***

*broadly defined including law, economics, sociology, politology, social-anthropology, -psychology, -medicine, -ecology and -geography, as well as praxeology as a **generalistic organizational theory**, seen all in all, **analysed by the methods of natural sciences**, is still valid.* This of course also implies use of the basic help sciences, mathematics, logic, statistics and information theory, broadly defined, as well as knowledge of the different basic natural sciences and pragmata. Anarchist science is also mainly **theoretical** knowledge, "the recipe", as seen apart from pure **pragmata**, "the cooking", although **praxeology** (the theory of human action in general) implies implementation of theory to practice, from words to deeds, strategically, and also tactical questions.

If we shall divide between "goats" and "sheep", using Joseph A. Schumpeter's (1883-1950) notions for separating the researchers in the development of anarchist science before the second world war, Proudhon and Kropotkin are clearly the "goats" and Bakunin and later Santillan a bit to the left, and Tucker a bit to the right, are more of being "sheep", although in many ways still valid. The other theorists of anarchism of those days are probably even more of being "sheep" in scientific context, although several have done small contributions that still may be valid. Foxes, i.e. broad based generalists, and hedgehogs, i.e. more one track minded, are also used to characterize researchers (Isaiah Berlin). Proudhon and Kropotkin are clearly foxes. IIFOR also try to use a fox perspective in the research. The knowledge that the accumulated capital of still valid hypothesis and theories will probably change in a dynamic perspective, i.e. some of the theories are probably always candidates for rejection, must be taken into account in planning and action perspective. Blind belief in the existing theories may result in errors, but of course we must take the so far valid theories into account, however never forget that they are not verified as absolutely and unconditionally truths. When conditions for some reason may be changed, or new or better data and/or formulation of models taken into account, some of the theories will perhaps not be valid any more. To try to identify possible weak points is a part of the research, applying **systematical doubt** and having **scientific scent**.

A competent anarchist research is a necessity for anarchism, however this competence must not be used to establish authority, i.e. an authoritarian tendency, rule by more or less quasiscientific priests, and authorities, i.e. a form of hierarchy, - prestige not really based on competence. Malatesta criticized Kropotkin's position for such tendencies, some of the criticism was probably valid, and some not. Malatesta's matter of fact criticism of his friend Kropotkin's theories for being too optimistic vis-à-vis praxeology and implementation, is still valid, and taken into account in anarchism updated. Malatesta built much on Kropotkin in general, but he introduced one important still valid idea, although more precisely investigated, today: **That the concept of State in anarchist science is a social organizational theoretical and practical concept, including a political/administrative dimension, statism broadly defined, and an economic dimension, capitalism i.e. plutarchy, broadly defined, and that anarchy and anarchism are principally neither opposed to the State as a central/confederal or federal administration, nor government or State in the meaning of public sector services.**

Thus, anarchism is about the "*State is us*, i.e. the people, anarchists, you and *me* included, on equal footing, as opposed to "the State is ME - I" as indicated by a French king, but also valid for a marxist or populist/fascist party (or parties), and/or a plutarchical rule, including liberalism. Thus anarchism is principally not against government wrongly interpreted as public service workers or the central/confederal or federal administration/management of a country, wrongly interpreted as the State. In fact anarchism can have a quite large public sector and confederal/central administration, but not authoritarian organization, mismanagement, included. Thus, although not being a great scientist as Kropotkin, but more of a journalist and essayist, Malatesta's small, but important contribution to anarchist science, say, in his little essay "Anarchy", must not be forgotten, as it indicates a major breakthrough in anarchist research, and turned it clearer into a basically broad based social organizational theory. Malatesta was strongly warning about using the word State in anarchist context, because it could so easily be misunderstood. Thus, without the precise definition, the word State, or anti-state, should not be used in anarchist context. In headlines, politics, demonstrations and polemical context, where precisations are not possible, the terms "state" or "anti-state" should in general be avoided. Malatesta's notes on libertarian organization, quoted from "Anarchy", is presented, commented and updated at <http://www.anarchy.no/malat1.html> .

Most of the other works of Malatesta are however less important, also including later rejected, and thus not valid working hypothesis. Much of Malatesta's writings may be seen as practical applications of Kropotkin's works. Neither Kropotkin nor Malatesta should in any way be treated as gurus, not to mention Bakunin and Proudhon. And the pre-anarchists' works are more or less directly naive, seen in social science perspective, although some parts of these works may still be interesting for valid working hypothesis. It must also be mentioned that Kropotkin was in several works analysing scenaria of a future ideal anarchist society where labor productivity was developed to a very high standard. Malatesta, in his works with the more practical approach, clearly stated that the ideal forms of anarchism where a thing for the distant future, and thus indicating that only degrees of anarchy and approximations towards the ideal were possible in the near future.

As indicated above anarchism is scientific in the meaning of an updated consistent research front of by now not rejected libertarian hypothesis and theories. But it is not scientific in the mening of predeterministic as, say, astronomy; anarchism also has a practical political perspective. The practical political part is not a science in itself, predeterministic, but praxeological, planned human actions, based on the science of anarchism, i.e. the scientific, nomothetical part of it. Thus anarchism is also libertarian and autonomous socialistical planned economy. These planned actions should follow from free research, taking the people's perspective as opposed to the national or authorities' perspective, and based on the non-dogmatic, non-

dialectical, scientific method suggested in Peter Kropotkin's "Modern Science and anarchism" (1903-13). Thus, as mentioned, also the left-Hegelian dialectical ideas of, say, Bakunin and Max Stirner, and later Daniel Guerin, Sam Dolgoff and Murray Bookchin, etc., must principally be rejected as pseudoscience, similar to Marx and his followers' ideology.

We must not forget that **non-anarchist** research is based on "the Church of Reason", which like all institutions of the System (with big S, for authorities), is based not on individual strength, but upon individual weakness. (As opposed to an anarchist system based on competent, strong, individuals). What's really demanded in "the Church of Reason" is not ability, but inability. A TRULY ABLE PERSON IS A THREAT. - Although IIFOR in co-operation with The International Anarchist University Federation etc. has a few good relations, say, to Universitas Osloensis and other research and education institutions in Norway and internationally, the main tendencies of these institutions are to be "Churches of Reason", the social sciences influenced by marxist, liberalist and/or populist/fascist ideology, and not very much searching for the truth for the benefit of mankind and the people in contrast to the authorities, i.e. anarchist research. And IIFOR is very well aware that it may develop to a "Church of reason", and be authoritarian despite of the outspoken anarchist profile, if not such tendencies are put at place all of the time. In this critical work, also you, yes YOU, may contribute by commencing this summary of the updated research front of anarchism. **To create new working hypothesis, and social scientific equations, not everybody can participate very much, but almost everybody not being morons, can help with the criticism and feedback, rejection of not yet revealed, but wrong, working hypothesis!. You, yes YOU, are hereby invited: Just create "hell of a criticism" for IIFOR and other anarchist research, but of course matter of fact.**

It must also be mentioned that anarchism represents a lot of different types of systems within the anarchist quadrant on the economical-political map, all of them consistent and principally realistic, many of them may be based on several different forms of anarchism in different fields of society, regions, industries, firms and housing, and also mixes with other forms of organizations, if the main tendency for the system seen all in all, i.e. what is significant, is anarchist. Although pluralism is not a basic anarchist principle, it may be useful to fulfill the basic principles, however pluralist-extremism is probably not a good idea. We have mentioned Proudhon and Kropotkin as major contributors to the **updated** research front of anarchist science, although, as mentioned, some of their hypothesis and theories are rejected. We have also mentioned other, however less important contributors, of still valid knowledge on particular points, before the second world war. Some of the later research, that is a part of the updated research front of anarchism, is mentioned in "A short note on the general theory of anarchist economics", at URL <http://www.anarchy.no/aneco1.html> and "Class analysis" at <http://www.anarchy.no/klasse.html> (English summary and Norwegian text plus mathematical formulas).

Further, it must be mentioned that although the basic methodology introduced to anarchism in a precise way for the first time by Peter Kropotkin was accepted with general consent among anarchists and for anarchist research, and kept updated by the anarchist scientists of today, - not all writers on anarchism are familiar with using this method and use it, and thus there are a lot of notes on anarchism, say, on the Internet, that is not properly done in a scientific context, and thus in general should not be taken seriously as contemporary valid anarchism. These at best quasianarchistal notes and books may have tendencies of non-anarchist research as mentioned above, i.e. hermeneutical interpretations, dialectical ideas in different forms, marxist or idealistic hegelian, metaphysical teleological tendencies, "new-age" ideas, predeterminism, idiographical empirism, party-political approaches, logical faults, say, circle "evidence" and concepts, inconsistencies, etc. falling in statistical and socio/econometrical traps, being vague or polemical without matter of fact content, tendencies if "anarchistology" and/or "anarchosophy", etc. "You name it - Internet's got it." - all kinds of wrong and not valid ideas about anarchism.

The warning on the anarchist search engine powered by GOOGLE at <http://www.anarchy.no> and <http://www.anarchy.no/links.html> should always be taken into account.... Even the anarchism on the AIIS web-site may, although it is based on anarchist science, have faults on details, because no thing is 100% absolutely and unconditionally truth with big T, in a scientific context. Free, matter of fact criticism, is very welcome. Nothing is more entertaining to an anarchist researcher than to see one of the relations, or conclusions, especially one he or she dislikes, be rejected in a scientifically valid way... Also the voice of inexperts must be heard, and may contribute with inspiring feedback. For development of new testable hypothesis, that may contradict old hypothesis, and make scientific progress, using the hypothetical deductive method broadly defined, we mainly agree with Paul Feuerabend, the philosopher's working hypothesis that: "*Science is an essential anarchic enterprise, theoretical anarchism is more humanitarian and more likely to encourage progress than its (authoritarian) law - and - order alternatives.*" In search for new testable hypothesis to investigate by hypothetical deductive method. "... *the only principle that does not limit progress is: anything goes*". He argues that the only feasible of scientific success are historical explanations and that anarchism must now replace rationalism (in the meaning of the "Churches of Reason", i.e. really not very rational, especially in a humanist and libertarian perspective) in the theory of knowledge. Doing away with rationalism is however not the same as doing away with reason. Anarchism is build on reason, both "brains and hearts" in "balanced federation", i.e. **rational planning based on libertarian ethics**, not "Churches of Reason". And in finding new solutions for tomorrow and the future we are *principally* not determined by history and the past more than a man or woman with total amnesia, i.e. loss of memory, - *tabula rasa*.

These historical explanations, as Feuerabend is discussing, say, to learn from the possible mistakes of anarchists and anarchism in the past, should however probably be established by using scientific methods, the hypothetical deductive logical concept etc. i.e. the methods of modern natural sciences, and **not** by populism or relativism and similar non-scientific methods, as

Feuerabend is quite clear on in the third edition of his main work "Against Method", published by Verso 1993, first published by New Left Books 1975. "Against method" is a polemical title that should not be taken literally, - the book is full of method, and the analysis is mainly compatible with use of a logical, hypothetical deductive framework.

Thus, anarchist science, included methodology, rooted back to Kropotkin, and discussed by Feuerabend etc, is not without real law and order, i.e. logical scientific methods, consistency, etc., but without authoritarian "law and order", i.e. dialectical "rules", new-age "rules", etc. and bureaucratic ties on the research. In short, the research must be free. Thus, although working close with the Anarchist International University Federation, AIUF, and other organizations of the Anarchist International, IIFOR is a fully autonomous institution, not directed by any economical and/or political/administrative rule from outside. Feuerabend is however more of a philosopher than an anarchist scientist, and thus, similar to Robert Nozick, points to possibilities more than scientifically practically always valid relations, or close approximations to reality. His general working hypothesis about scientific revolutions seems most valid for natural sciences, dealing with the fundamental mysteries of space, time, forces and life, and perhaps not so valid for the social sciences dealing with non-mysterious things as human constructions, inventions and institutions - social organization, broadly defined. When Feuerabend warns about generalisations when discussing scientific methodology, this should probably also be valid for his own generalizations.

This means not that we reject Feuerabend's working hypothesis for social sciences, but some precisation may be necessary: Anarchist science includes a real scientific basic method, the logical, hypothetical deductive framework broadly defined - similar to the methods used in natural sciences. mathematics included - not used in an analogical way, but used in a freedomly way. It rejects methodological chaos, ochlarchical and non-scientific methods, "anarchistology" and/or "anarchosophy", "lifestyleism", symbolism and fashion", etc.. Here the concept of freedomly includes not only induction with generalization from historical events and empirical data, but also analysis of **realistic alternatives** that may be created in the future, based on realistic estimations of possible future conditions. Thus it is **not positivism**, just analysing what is historically positively given. It also includes realistically orientated contrafactual analysis, and research into realistic future scenarios, i.e. based on the basic scientific knowledge of today, not unrealistic, obscure fantasies, and utopies. And thus, unless it may be argued strongly that future may bring conditions other than what is assumed for the practically always valid ecocirc and taxonomical relations of anarchist science, such investigations on the future, scenarios and simulations. etc. must take into account the relevant practically always valid relations (ecocirc), or be rejected as probably unrealistical utopies. Anarchism is real scientific and realistic, not optimistical, utopian semilibertarian or authoritarian radicalist marxism or liberalism, to the left and right on the economical-political map respectively, and certainly not populism, or other authoritarian systems.

Furthermore, although a) the anarchist system theory of social organizations is scientific and objective (intersubjective) in the meaning of testable in different

ways, and thus principally b) anybody can verify or reject the hypothesis, check for inconsistencies and realism, etc., the model clearly is c) stating the fact that social sciences are in general political, not neutral and objective in a non-political sense. All social sciences about a system are **either** anarchist, marxist, liberalist or fascist, using these words for general concepts and systems, not just connected to a certain historical periode. Some relations are so general that they may be a part of several types of political systems, say, the Pareto-optimum in welfare theory, and some basic ecocirc relations in economics. However the Pareto-optimum must be combined with the fairness criterion, "the interchange of positions" principle, or similar, to be anarchist. Similar the ecocirc accounting relations must **not** be accounting for bureaucracy as output, but as costs, to be anarchist, etc. Although, as indicated, some generally formulated relations may be valid for several types of systems, a more precise and deeper going analysis gives probably inevitably some political touch in the relations.

A special problem is related to "objective" indicated as "intersubjective": Say, anarchy briefly means the influence on the societal management goes more from the bottom - the people, than from the top - the bureaucracy broadly defined, thus **anarchy is real democracy** related to the middle-point of the economical-political map and above. However in all societies calling itself democracy, the top will probably say it is so, wether it is - or not, and the people probably at large also say so, because they have learned it at schools or told so by other means, wether it is so, or not. Thus, through a poll, a majority, if not everybody, may say it is real democracy, and thus anarchy according to the scientific definition, although the system in reality may be far from it. Furthermore, if they are not scientifically educated about anarchism, and wrongly think anarchy is chaos and similar, they will at large, if not all, say it is not anarchy, even if it is real democracy - or not.

Thus, 1. today (year 2002 + some more) people living in a society calling itself democracy are probably in this matter living in an Orwellian "1984" type "newspeak" society, where anarchy = real democracy is wrongly called chaos and similar. 2. If you, after have read this i.e. all of www.anarchy.no, use your own brain at best and ask yourself honestly and matter of fact critically: "**Am I living in a real democracy?**" and the answer is 3. "**YES, MOST LIKELY!**", then you are probably living in an **anarchy**, i.e. the society you are thinking of has a form of **anarchism** as system, in real terms. If your answer is 4. "**probably no**", you are most likely **not** living in an anarchy, and thus **not** in a democracy, i.e. real democracy - either. 5. "Leider" as the Germans say, you are probably not living in a real democracy, and thus not in an anarchy either, if you are quite honest about it and critical in a scientific manner, i.e. matter of fact. This is so a.o.t. because there is a reason why you are probably living in an Orwellian "1984" type "newspeak" society in this matter. You may think for yourself what this is all about, and it may help the thinking to read www.anarchy.no once more. In the following we will use "anarchy" for the chaotic-ochlarchical travesty of anarchy, including unrealistic dreams of freedom and wealth without work (for all), and anarchy for real democracy, order included, as defined and analysed other places on AIIS www.anarchy.no. The following is probably a valid working hypothesis in many cases:

1. By making lies **with authority** the bureaucracy, the upper classes, saying real democracy, freedom, solidarity and equality, etc., i.e. in reality anarchy and anarchism, are also chaos = "anarchy" etc., very few (i.e. the real anarchists) except more or less leftist "crackpot"s (more general **wannabe libertarians** of all kinds, see definition above, say, search for it in this file) will ask for "anarchy" or anarchy using the same word, but meaning different things, especially when
2. the same authority also lies very convincing about a de facto rule from the top, also is real-democracy, wrongly saying the influence on the societal management "really" is working from the bottom, the people, upwards, and not from the top, downwards.
3. And when the wannabe libertarian "crackpot"s then of course try to make chaos and "anarchy" etc. having the crazy belief that this will make real democracy, freedom, solidarity and equality etc. i.e. anarchy;
4. everybody wrongly can "verify" that the alternative to the existing authoritarian system is chaos = "anarchy", etc, i.e.
5. wrongly believe no real better alternative exists.
6. When more or less (semi-)libertarian "crackpot"s (as Nozick) to the right say freedom includes slave-contracts, the "1984 newspeak" manipulation is even more complete.

That's the way the **alienation system** works, contributing to keep the authoritarian system going on repeatedly. However this authoritarian circle is not equally strong all over in place and time in human history and today. Sometimes real anarchist ideas have support from the people, and have a breakthrough in the system, one way or the other, and thus the authoritarian degree may variate a lot from place to place and historically. We have used the term "crackpot" on stead of crackpot. This indicates they may be "rational" in acting in their own shortsighted egoistical interest, trying to make other people slave for them one way or the other, and try legitimate this by falsely defining it as "freedom". That is however not freedom based on own work, but on others expence, i.e. freedom for one creating slavery for another, i.e. not anarchist, but wannabe libertarian and other authoritarian tendencies..

IIFOR has made an "In Memoriam" note on Nozick, and that is mostly for his partly honesty, i.e to call a slave contract a slave-contract, and thus implicitly not a free contract, as the upper classes usually do, telling lies. The upper classes usually **lies consistent**, and then the lies are not so easy to discover. **Consistency is only a necessary condition for being scientific and revealing the truth, not a sufficient condition. Big liars try to be consistent.** When inconsistency is discovered, the game of lies is usually over. Nozick is partly honest, calling slave contract a slave-contract. But at the same time say that freedom includes slavecontracts, really makes him a "crackpot" anyway, but a rather honest one, and that contributes to make him an interesting thinker: Bad liars are not very good at covering up for crimes, so when Nozick is partly honest, then to roll up the whole fraud is a piece of cake. He reveals the Orwellian "1984" dialectical double-thinking and "newspeak" and demonstrates the built in contradiction, and thus everybody easy can see the madness. That didn't make him popular in conservative circles. But how a

university professor can be seen as a great and honored thinker with such "crackpot" contradictions in the research, is really something to wonder about. Perhaps this has something to do with the development of new research, also related to Feuerabends theory of the development of scientific knowledge:

a. Any scientific system must ideally be consistent, because inconsistencies contradict reality as far as we know it today, and thus is not acceptable from scientific point of view.

b. On the other hand we know that the consistent research front moves over time, tendentially towards better approximations to reality. We know the knowledge to day probably on some places **must be wrong**, in the meaning that better explanations and formulas probably will come in the future. This is what we have experienced historically, the world is no longer believed to be flat, etc., and this will probably happen also in the future. Even if it not happens, the possibility that something is wrong will be there, because scientific reasoning cannot prove any working hypothesis 100%, only reject it if it is wrong.

c. The consequence of these two conditions is however that todays consistent reasearch front, on some places must be a lie, relatively or absolute. **Thus scientists are practically always preaching and believing in a consistent lie system.** More or less!

They are at least a bit, more or less, consistent liers **even if they don't believe so themselves** and perhaps few others. But to be 100% honest, all scientists should realise that they are liers, perhaps not as much as others, but still a bit liers.

d. However not to be scientific, not using the inductive-deductive, logic deductive and hypothetical deductive methods, almost certain creates bigger lies, including non-testable hypothesis, circle definitions, self-fulfilling prophesies, tautologies, inconsistencies, fog and vagueness, etc. i.e in general pseudoscience.

f. Thus there is no acceptable alternative to the scientific method suggested by Kropotkin and others, and we must understand that even science, i.e. not pseudoscience, is (a more or less) **consistent belief, in the meaning of rational scientific knowledge, a general model of realities**, and not the realities and realistic alternatives in itself, and it will practically always partially be a lie, have som inaccuracies. Thus, the research front is in a way a belief, but not similar to irrational or speculative, religious belief, based on fomulæ, a.s.o, it is based on tested and still not rejected hypothesis in different ways, logically, statistical, political implications in the people vs authorities perspective, the Orwellian "1984" newspeak perspective of hidden contradictions and manipulations in the conceptual framwork, etc.

The aim of real science is to reveal the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, but both history and critical reasoning demonstrate this is not the fact. Even if precisely and mathematically formulated, there are always some outspoken and non-outspoken, implicit conditions, that are not totally realistic in general and/or "selfevident". As mentioned, in social sciences, most conditions also have a political tendency. Most "selfevident" synthetic axioms, as opposed to analytical, are however perhaps not as self-evident as they seem.

Thus, any science is summa (Lies %) plus (Truth%) = 100%, and the (Lies %) will practically certain never be zero. Perhaps we could use a less derogative

word than 'lie', say 'inaccuracies', to be nice to science and scientists, but the real meaning is about the same, i.e. there is always "something more or less wrong that is not right", deliberately made so by pseudoresearchers, ideologs, or not, i.e. by real researchers. The IIFOR always try to be real researchers in this way, not doing inaccuracies deliberately, avoiding a bias. In the social sciences the (lies %) may be really high, because the authorities of the authoritarian systems, left, right and down on the economical- political map, are also more or less authorities over the research, i.e. the researchers are usually either on the payroll of authorities or are directly political/administratively ruled by state, and the authorities may have a tendency of mixing the authoritarian with freedom, saying the authoritarian is freedom, and/or similar Orwellian "1984" newspeak. And most of the social scientists join in this false song deliberately or by accident. The purpose of research is thus to lie (make inaccuracies) as little as possible, i.e. the same as **maximizing the truth**. But it will probably never be 100% truth. Research is never 100% proof. Day, especially some neoclassical economists are very impressed by the Walras-model, because it is consistent. But it is covering over the fact that "free" market contracts may often be slave-contracts, and thus the contradiction of freedom = slavery. That is a serious lie. Never forget this fact.

The "Church of reason" often try to deny the above stated fact in practice, and try to pose as the producers of absolute truth, not admitting that the whole system also includes partial lies, say, hidden contradictions due to Orwellian "1984 newspeak" concepts, badly formulated relations, "selfevident" axioms that are not selfevident, mixing up taxonomical relations as ecocirc, with ordinary, statistically testable hypothesis, mixing up synthetic and analytic relations and axioms, lack of data, positivism, i.e. keeping just to the positively given, not taking into account realistic (contrafactual, but realistic and thus possible) alternatives, etc., dialectical and other pseudo-scientific formulæ, a.s.o.. A contradiction in science must not be mixed up with the "build in contradiction in all things" as the dialectical formulæ of Hegel and Marx's quasiscience suggests. Although we here discuss contradictions, this must not be seen as we are doing a form of marxism or dialectic thinking, because we are not. A logical contradiction has nothing to do with the pseudoscientific formulæ "thesis - antithesis - synthesis". Mathematical and logical **formulas**, must not be mixed up with pseudoscientific **formulæ**, including Hegelian and Marxist dialectical "reasoning", such as the "thesis - antithesis - synthesis", "magical spells" and prayers, etc.

However the scientific way of thinking is, or should be, a firm fight to reveal these lies, so the lies over time become as less as possible. The scientific process of breaking through the old consistent research front and establishing a new, i.e. a scientific revolution, often starts with an honest discovery that creates inconsistency in the scientific system, i.e. the research front. An example of that is Nozick pointing clearly to the fact that "free"-market contracts may create or be slave-contracts, and calling it that, and thus coming up with the contradiction that a "free"-contract = slave contract, i.e. freedom = slavery, i.e. Orwellian "1984 newspeak", that is not scientific because it cover up realities in a foggy way, and do not reveal realities, and is inconsistent. Inconsistent concepts are contradictions, and thus not acceptable from

scientific perspective. When first this contradiction is revealed, it is as indicated above, easy to improve the model, taking into account a) free contracts, i.e. not slave-contracts, and b) slave-contracts, relatively or more absolute, as two types of ("free") market contracts, and not defining all ("free") market-contracts as free for the people. This means a ("free") market contract, even in a neoclassical perfect competitive market system, may be a slavecontract, and thus not free, i.e. "free markets" are not always free from the people's perspective.. Thus Nozick's contribution is scientifically valuable although he ended up like a "crackpot" with contradictions in his "system", and thus something more had to be done to establish a new research front. Nozick's attempt to "save" the liberalistic system, after having implicitly revealed its basic contradiction, and still "prove" that it was a free, fair, just and efficient system, is however mostly pathetic. **To try to hide real contradictions by ideological and philosophical tricks, as Nozick does in this case, is not scientific, but pseudoscience. Now, back to point 1-5 above.**

Most societies of today officially calling themselves "democracy" are probably, sorry to say, **not real democracies**, i.e. anarchies, in practice anarchism. The authorities, their schools and media are often telling lies to the people in this and similar matters. Guess why!? In case 4, go to

5. WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT? We will leave that mostly to yourself, but you should probably subscribe to IJ@, - Click on: <http://www.anarchy.no/ijaupdate.html> .

6. You may possibly answer "I don't know" to the question mentioned under point 2. In case, go to point 5. and/or try to be more honest and matter of fact critical, ask IIFOR for help, at <http://www.anarchy.no/iifor.html> or do more investigations on your own until you can make up your mind. Whether a society is real democratic or not, is a crucial political, scientific and philosophical question, that should never be unanswered. You may also discuss with others, to find out. There may be different opinions, even if answered honestly and seen critical, matter of fact, after investigations.

7. Perhaps you don't care? Then you probably are an idiot in the original Greek meaning of the word, and even an "useful" one of Lenin and other authorities, and you should really think twice!

8. Perhaps you care, but give up... As history demonstrate different systems, with different authoritarian degree, and this is connected to the people's societal activities broadly defined, it is no reason to give in. By individual and co-operative actions, we may change the system in direction more efficiency and fairness and the other anarchist principles, and thus create more anarchy and anarchism, a less authoritarian system.

Thus if "intersubjectivity" is interpreted as measured by a poll or similar, in general by asking people and researchers, or by voting for or against, the truth may rarely be revealed in this matter. That's why anarchist research don't believe to much in polls and general opinions, but stick to other measures, as the theory of revealed preferences through deeds and doings, democratic ecocirc, and factual-scientific investigations in general, instead of only measuring what people say when asked in different ways. If we should only use polls and rely on what a majority says as almost objective, probably most, if not all, societies officially naming themselves "democracy", would be registered as

real democracy, and thus real anarchy and anarchism, although probably relatively few really be so. Thus, to investigate objectively about anarchy and anarchism, and the way to get a higher degree of anarchy, and/or less authoritarian tendencies, we cannot rely too much on polls and similar.

But the general theory of anarchist political economy and sociology broadly defined, because it is based on revealing the truth from the interest of the people perspective, i.e. the poorest and less powerful majority perspective, in contrast to the bureaucracy minority, may be seen as **mainly objective**, also treating the other systems as special cases of a more general theory, and thus anarchist research is probably the **most objective** of social sciences. Most people will agree to it, when understood, although not always the authorities. They will probably often do anything to discredit the anarchist research, unless they are, or turn out to act like - real democrats, acting compatible with anarchism, one way or the other. An open society, based on free - matter of fact - criticism a.o.t., may help in this matter. Strong labor unions, and people's organizations in general, and a relatively strong and competent anarchist/libertarian movement, highly educated people, a real scientific way of thinking as mentioned above, a free press vs 4th power of the state, etc. all contribute in the right direction, towards anarchy, i.e. real democracy, more and more.

Thus, seen all in all, social sciences is mainly political, and not objective in a politically neutral sense, but it may be objective in revealing facts from the people's perspective, not covering up for unpleasant truths from authorities perspective. Although a researcher not necessarily must choose between systems and quadrants on the map, and work politically for one tendency, the systems they study is inevitable political, either anarchist, marxist, fascist or liberalist, generally and broadly defined. And in all cases a researcher true to the scientific method must not propagandistical compromise the method in any way. It is however possible to work politically for anarchism, and still be a good anarchist researcher, not compromising the method, anarchism and anarchist research. All anarchists should principally work that way, both be scientific and political anarchists, as far as resources are available.

Everybody can contribute with something to the anarchist research. Even the smallest hint may be useful. What's wrong with the "Church of reason" in contrast to anarchist research in social sciences, is the lack of input of really new and interesting working hypothesis, the constructive creativity, new thinking in general. They are mostly occupied with what Ragnar Frisch called "lommerusk-forskning", i.e "pocket fluff research", and they are on the payroll of the plutarchy and/or the State and afraid of losing their income and privileges, so they crawl around using the authorities' perspective, not the people's perspective. Even when they discover the truth, opposed to the bureaucracy, they usually say it with lowest possible voice or keep totally quiet about it, afraid to risk their necks. Most of the budgets are directly connected to projects serving the bureaucracy, and very little for free research. Even if in a free position, projects in the people's perspective are usually avoided, because very few will risk the neck on counter-bureaucratic projects. They may criticize the state, but serve the plutarchy, or criticize the plutarchy but serve the state, but rarely take the people's perspective. The people have little money for

research. So real anarchist research have practically always hard times. Besides several guru and wannabe libertarian fogarchs, try to get a scientific image by making up false research institutes. Say, search for "anarchism", "libertarian", "anarchist", "anarchos", etc and "institute", "centre/center" or "research" on Internet, and you will see several of these quasi-scientific institutes, not based on the natural scientific method introduced by Kropotkin to the anarchist movement, but dialectical, "new age", etc. everything that is not anarchist, but populist, marxist or liberalist. There are however also more serious anarchist research institutes broadly defined with web-pages on Internet. IIFOR at AIIS is however probably the most advanced, and consistent, so far.

And anarchist historical science and research must principally take into account the research front of updated valid anarchist system theory, etc, drawing the great lines in history, not be ideographical and hermeneutical. The updated einsteinian physics was of course more valid also in the newtonian age, than newtonian physics, although not discovered at that time. Similar in anarchist sciences, hypothesis rejected today was not really valid before, although wrongly considered valid so far, long time ago. When analysing history in an anarchist scientific context, the retrospective approach should be based on today's updated research front, using today's general concepts and relations, not just reflecting passively what was (sometimes wrongly) considered valid as anarchism long time ago. Primary historical data on realities may be more or less factual, and should of course be accounted for as they best are revealed by updated methods about what really happened, i.e. shedding light on factum. However the symbols/words, concepts, fictions, what was once called anarchism by people called anarchist by themselves or others a long time ago, are not necessary anarchism as far as we know it today. The world was not flat, hundreds of years ago, although many believed so, also the "Churches of Reason" of that time. Earlier faults in libertarian's beliefs were not really valid anarchism historically, just faults, **not anarchism**. As indicated above - what we today know about anarchism must be taken into account when writing history, say, to tell what was anarchism and what was not, in a historical perspective.

Especially hermeneutical "analysis" of short slogans and headlines of earlier anarchist's thoughts put up to make attention, interpreted in "a free" way, are in general not valid anarchism, as indicated above. This is similar to "free fantasy" interpretations of headlines in newspapers, without taking into account the content of the articles. The "quality" of such forms of hermeneutical "history"-writing should be clear to everybody without much more explanation. A "traditionalist" hermeneutical quasianarchism based on slogans and headlines, conserving old times faults and repeating it, has nothing to do with anarchism. Furthermore, as long as the authoritarian travesties of anarchy and anarchism exist, an "analysis" collecting this and that with the words anarchy and anarchism on Internet or other media, is of very little interest in shedding light on anarchy and anarchism. It may however give an impression of the amount of travesties, and thus give one among many indications of the authoritarian degree.

D. MORE ABOUT THE CONCEPTS AND WORDS USED IN THIS CONTEXT

As indicated above, the system theory of ***anarchist political economy and social organization research and the economic-political map***, presented here at http://www.anarchy.no/a_e_p_m.html and mathematically at <http://www.anarchy.no/formula.html> should also be seen in the context of the ***economic-political sociology and industrial organization*** research at <http://www.anarchy.no/klasse.html> and the ***general theory of anarchist economics*** at <http://www.anarchy.no/aneco1.html>, as well as the praxeological research referred in ***International Journal of Organization Research***, see <http://www.anarchy.no/iifor.html>, <http://www.anarchy.no/folkebladet.html> and the most of the rest of the <http://www.anarchy.no> files. And this is just a summary of the research at the ***International Institute for Organization Research*** at URL <http://www.anarchy.no/iifor.html>.

These pages have several words that are well known to highly educated people. However people at large are educated, but not highly. If you want to see the definition of a word or phrase used in this context, try first to search in the mentioned html-files. Secondly, if you want more information, try the anarchist search engine powered by Google at www.anarchy.no. Third, if you have problems with understanding words that **are not defined** at the AIIS web-pages, try, say (Click on), <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/>.

If you, after doing the best to understand, still have problems learning the material, click on <http://www.anarchy.no/au.html> for help. If you are interested in a basic course on anarchism in general, this may be arranged by the Anarchist International University Federation, via the same link. If you have questions about the research and/or want more results, click on <http://www.anarchy.no/iifor.html>. Anarchism is a.o.t. based on dialog, and free - matter of fact - criticism. To achieve this, it is necessary to understand what it is all about. A minimum basic knowledge to be taken seriously in a **debate** on anarchy, anarchist(s) and anarchism is probably the material at the above mentioned links, i.e. a brief summary of the updated research front on anarchism. In a matter of fact dialog with AIUF, IIFOR and/or other relevant organizations of the Anarchist International, you may also contribute to change the anarchist research front a bit, and thus also interactively change the stuff you are learning.

"Do not expect me to provide you with a system. My system is Progress, that is to say the need to work constantly toward discovering the unknown while the past is being exhausted." P. J. Proudhon wrote in a letter of December 1851. This does not mean anarchism is without system, it is a whole set of systems related to the economical political map and the updated research front of anarchism. It means we, Proudhon, IIFOR and other anarchists, will 1. not provide you with a fixed, dogmatic system once and for all. 2. You are invited to improve the research front of anarchist systems while learning. 3. "Proudhon's system" at that time, as well as today's updated research front of anarchism is a front of Progress: The research front, using the scientific method of the natural sciences, is all of the time developing and improved as an accumulated capital of knowledge, consistent and with small -- and sometimes large -- breakthroughs and revolutions, in a progressive way. Join in to improve the research front while learning and send a comment to IIFOR, click on the link to IIFOR above and use the e-mailform at the IIFOR's homepage.

Anarchist greetings from the reaserch team of IIFOR

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The Formula of Anarchism

$$(1) \text{ DEGREE OF ANARCHY} = 100[1 - ((1 - (\text{AUTONOMY\%/100}))^2 + (1 - (\text{SOCIALISM\%/100}))^2)/2]^{1/2}\%$$

This is the general Formula of Anarchism related to the Economic-Political map. The degree of anarchy is defined for the Quadrant of Anarchism on the EP-map. In general the libertarian degree is used, i.e. also valid outside the anarchist quadrant:

$$(2) \text{ LIBERTARIAN DEGREE} = 100[1 - ((1 - (\text{AUTONOMY\%/100}))^2 + (1 - (\text{SOCIALISM\%/100}))^2)/2]^{1/2}\%$$

In general, for the whole map, the **authoritarian degree** is used, i.e. **100% minus the libertarian degree**.

$$\begin{aligned} \text{AUTHORITARIAN DEGREE} &= 100\% - 100[1 - ((1 - (\text{AUTONOMY\%/100}))^2 + (1 - (\text{SOCIALISM\%/100}))^2)/2]^{1/2}\% \\ \text{AUTHORITARIAN DEGREE} &= 100[1 - [1 - ((1 - (\text{AUTONOMY\%/100}))^2 + (1 - (\text{SOCIALISM\%/100}))^2)/2]^{1/2}]\% \end{aligned}$$

$$(3) \text{ AUTHORITARIAN DEGREE} = 100[1 - ((1 - (\text{AUTONOMY\%/100}))^2 + (1 - (\text{SOCIALISM\%/100}))^2)/2]^{1/2}\%$$

(4) The degree of autonomy is 100% - the degree of statism and the degree of socialism is 100% - the degree of capitalism

From (3) and (4) we get:

$$(5) \text{ AUTHORITARIAN DEGREE} = 100[1 - ((\text{STATISM\%/100})^2 + (\text{CAPITALISM\%/100})^2)/2]^{1/2}\%$$

If the authoritarian degree is not significant, i.e. less than 50%, outside the anarchist quadrant, the term **semilibertarian system** is used.

Systems within **the anarchist quadrant** have the degree of both autonomy and socialism > 50%, the **liberalist quadrant** autonomy and capitalism > 50%, the **marxist** statism and socialism > 50% and the **fascist** statism and capitalism > 50%.

If the degree of capitalism is significant, > 50%, the system is economical plutarchy.

The degree of statism is connected to political/administrative hierarchy, that may be real monarchy, oligarchy, polyarchy, ochlarchy, and/or political/administrative plutarchy, i.e. if the degree of statism is significant, > 50%.

Very significant capitalism and/or statism also include the archies of rivaling "states within the state" (chaos), the tyranny of structurelessness (disorganization) and ochlarchy broadly defined.

If a system has insignificant degree of statism and capitalism, both < 50%, i.e. the degree of both autonomy and socialism are significant > 50%, and the system is anarchy and anarchism.

The area of the map, i.e. 100%, is divided of course with 25% for each of the main quadrants, marxism, anarchism, liberalism, and fascism. Furthermore the area of the systems with the least 1/3 authoritarian degree is $\text{Pi}(100/18) = \text{ca } 17.4\%$ at the top of the map.

The anarchist and semilibertarian systems to the left and right, i.e. from above the middlepoint and less than 50% authoritarian degree cover an area of

$Pi(100/8) = \text{ca } 39,25 \%$. The democratic systems all in all, i.e. less than ca 67% authoritarian degree, cover an area of $Pi(200/9) = \text{ca } 69.78 \%$. Of this the area between about 43,75 % and 66,67 % authoritarian degree is significant **parliamentarian** democracy, and the area with less than 43,75% authoritarian degree is significant **direct** democracy. The democracy, parliamentary or direct, may be real, i.e. libertarian and anarchist - within the anarchist quadrant of the economical political map, or not, i.e. semilibertarian or authoritarian pseudodemocracy - outside the anarchist quadrant.

Thus the ultra-authoritarian, totalitarian, fundamentalist, and/or archi-systems, i.e dictatorship, with more than ca 67% (i.e. 66.6 666... %) authoritarian degree cover $100 - Pi(200/9) = \text{ca } 30.22 \%$. Thus, the systems with more than 666 per thousand authoritarian degree have a lot more room, ca 30% of the map, than the most anarchist systems with ca 17 % of the area. This may indicate it is much more easy to create hell than heaven on earth.

Graphical representations of the formulas are found at, click on: <http://www.anarchy.no/anarcho4.html> and http://www.anarchy.no/a_e_p_m.html
As anarchy and anarchism are equal to real democracy we may also write the formulas in the following way:

REALDEMOCRACY

A brief note on the political ecocirc equations between the degree of realdemocracy, socialism vs capitalism and statism vs autonomy, say, to get more logical answers in IIFOR's investigations about democracy.

$$(1) \quad \text{DEGREE OF REALDEMOCRACY} = 100[1 - ((1 - (\text{AUTONOMY\%/100}))^2 + (1 - (\text{SOCIALISM\%/100}))^2)/2]^{1/2}\%$$

This is the general Formula of realdemocracy. The **degree of realdemocracy** is defined for **significant** societal democracy, i.e. both more than a) 50% economical democracy, socialism, on a scale from 0% to 100%, i.e. significant socialism, and b) 50% political/administrative democracy, autonomy, on a scale from 0% to 100%, i.e. significant autonomy.

All realdemocratic systems are found within the Quadrant of realdemocracy defined by [50% to 100% AUTONOMY; 50% to 100% SOCIALISM].

In general the libertarian degree is used, i.e. also valid outside the realdemocratic quadrant:

$$(2) \quad \text{LIBERTARIAN DEGREE} = 100[1 - ((1 - (\text{AUTONOMY\%/100}))^2 + (1 - (\text{SOCIALISM\%/100}))^2)/2]^{1/2}\%$$

In general, for the whole map, the **authoritarian degree** is used, i.e. **100% minus the libertarian degree.**

$$\begin{aligned} \text{AUTHORITARIAN DEGREE} &= 100\% - \\ &100[1 - ((1 - (\text{AUTONOMY\%/100}))^2 + (1 - (\text{SOCIALISM\%/100}))^2)/2]^{1/2}\% \leq => \\ \text{AUTHORITARIAN DEGREE} &= 100[1 - [1 - ((1 - (\text{AUTONOMY\%/100}))^2 + (1 - (\text{SOCIALISM\%/100}))^2)/2]^{1/2}]\% \leq => \end{aligned}$$

$$(3) \quad \text{AUTHORITARIAN DEGREE} = 100[((1 - (\text{AUTONOMY\%/100}))^2 + (1 - (\text{SOCIALISM\%/100}))^2)/2]^{1/2}\%$$

(4) The degree of autonomy is 100% - the degree of statism and the degree of socialism is 100% - the degree of capitalism

From (3) and (4) we get:

(5) AUTHORITARIAN DEGREE = $100[(\text{STATISM}\%/100)^2 + (\text{CAPITALISM}\%/100)^2]/2)^{1/2}\%$

If the authoritarian degree is not significant, i.e. less than 50%, outside the realdemocratic quadrant, the term **semilibertarian system** is used.

Systems within the **realdemocratic** quadrant have as mentioned the degree of both autonomy and socialism > 50%. Similar the systems within the **liberalist** quadrant have the degree of both autonomy and capitalism > 50%, the **marxist** quadrant statism and socialism > 50% and the **fascist** quadrant statism and capitalism > 50%.

If the degree of capitalism is significant, > 50%, the system is economical plutarchy.

The degree of statism is connected to political/administrative hierarchy, that may be real monarchy, oligarchy, polyarchy, ochlarchy, and/or political/administrative plutarchy, i.e. if the degree of statism is significant, > 50%.

Very significant capitalism and/or statism also include the archies of rivaling "states within the state" (chaos), the tyranny of structurelessness (disorganization) and ochlarchy broadly defined.

If a system has insignificant degree of statism and capitalism, both < 50%, i.e. the degree of both autonomy and socialism are significant > 50%, and the system is realdemocracy.

The four quadrants all together define a large quadrant, called the economical political systems' world **map**, accounting for all possible societal systems. The area of the **Economical Political map**, i.e. 100%, is divided of course with 25% for each of the main quadrants, marxism, realdemocracy, liberalism, and fascism. Furthermore the area of the systems with the least 1/3 authoritarian degree is $\text{Pi}(100/18) = \text{ca } 17.4\%$ at the top of the map.

The realdemocratic, also called **libertarian** systems, and the semilibertarian systems to the left and right, i.e. from above the **middlepoint** of the **Economical Political map** defined as both 50% autonomy, statism, socialism and capitalism and less than 50% authoritarian degree, cover an area of $\text{Pi}(100/8) = \text{ca } 39,25\%$. The democratic systems all in all, i.e. less than ca 67% authoritarian degree, cover an area of $\text{Pi}(200/9) = \text{ca } 69.78\%$. Of this the area between about 43,75 % and 66,67 % authoritarian degree is significant **parliamentarian** democracy, and the area with less than 43,75% authoritarian degree is significant **direct** democracy. The democracy, parliamentarian or direct, may be real, i.e. libertarian and realdemocratic - within the realdemocratic quadrant of the economical political map, or not, i.e. semilibertarian or authoritarian pseudodemocracy - outside the realdemocratic quadrant.

Thus the ultra-authoritarian, totalitarian, fundamentalist, and/or archi-systems, i.e dictatorship, with more than ca 666 per thousand = ca 67% (i.e. 66.6 666... %) authoritarian degree cover $100 - \text{Pi}(200/9) = \text{ca } 30.22\%$. Thus, the systems with more than 666 per thousand authoritarian degree have a lot more room, ca 30% of the map, than the most realdemocratic systems with ca 17 % of the area. This may indicate it is much more easy to create hell than heaven on earth.

The realdemocratic, libertarian systems are sometimes referred to as **the third alternative**, mentioned by Ragnar Frisch in several articles. As the word

pseudodemocracy is a bit derogative, the more neutral word semidemocracy may sometimes be used as a synonym. However as pseudodemocracy is not realdemocracy, the word pseudodemocracy is probably quite correct.

A practical example:

The Norwegian system* has ca 55% socialism and 52% autonomy, i.e. significant within the Quadrant of Anarchism. Thus, the degree of anarchy is defined, we use the formula (1), and it is calculated in the following way:

$$\text{DEGREE OF ANARCHY} = 100[1 - ((1 - (52\%/100))^2 + (1 - (55\%/100))^2)/2]^{1/2}\%$$

$$\text{DEGREE OF ANARCHY} = 100[1 - ((1 - 0.52)^2 + (1 - 0.55)^2)/2]^{1/2}\%$$

$$\text{DEGREE OF ANARCHY} = 100[1 - ((0.48)^2 + (0.45)^2)/2]^{1/2}\%$$

$$\text{DEGREE OF ANARCHY} = 100[1 - (0.2304 + 0.2025)/2]^{1/2}\%$$

$$\text{DEGREE OF ANARCHY} = 100[1 - (0.21645)]^{1/2}\%$$

$$\text{DEGREE OF ANARCHY} = 100[1 - 0.465241872] = 100[0.534758127] = \text{ca } 53\%$$

The degree of anarchy for the Norwegian system in 1994/95 is about 53%. It is significant anarchist, however a bit distant from the ideal at the top of the EP-map. The form of horizontal organization is ordinary, not perfect, i.e. not completely, but practically without superiors and subordinates. Thus, there are tendencies of economic and political/administrative subordinate and superior positions, i.e. a bureaucratic tendency, however not significant.

The coordinates of the Norwegian economical political system anno 2002 has ca 54,7% socialism and ca 53,5% autonomy, i.e. also significant within the Quadrant of Anarchism. Thus, the degree of anarchy is defined, we use the formula (1), and it is calculated in the following way:

$$\text{DEGREE OF ANARCHY} = 100[1 - ((1 - (53,5/100))^2 + (1 - (54,7/100))^2)/2]^{1/2}\%$$

$$\text{DEGREE OF ANARCHY} = 1 - ((0,465)^2 + (0,453)^2)/2]^{1/2}\% =$$

$$\text{DEGREE OF ANARCHY} = 1 - ([0,216225 + 0,205209]/2)^{1/2}\% =$$

$$\text{DEGREE OF ANARCHY} = 100[1 - ([0,421434]/2)^{1/2}]\%$$

$$\text{DEGREE OF ANARCHY} = 100[1 - (0,210717)^{1/2}]\% =$$

$$\text{DEGREE OF ANARCHY} = 100[1 - 0.4590392] = 100[0,540960786] = \text{ca } 54\%$$

*) Estimated coordinates after the EU-referendum in 1994 and later. Today's estimate is that the system seen all in all has moved slightly to the right on the economical political map. The degree of anarchy for 2002 structurally estimated is about 54%.



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The Oslo Convention

ANARCHISM VS AUTHORITARIAN TENDENCIES

Resolution unanimously decided upon by the 1st Anarchist Biennial, i.e. the first combined IFA & FICEDL Congress in Oslo 1990

1. Authoritarians notoriously mix up anarchy, anarchist and anarchism with **authoritarian tendencies**: Chaos, disorder, mob rule*, lawlessness, the law of the jungle, criminality, riots, theft, corruption, drugs, mafia, terrorism, autocratic rule, the right to the strongest, antisocial tyrannic behavior, etc. i.e. **different types of superiors and subordinates**.

2. The word anarchy origins from greek. The prefix "an" means "negation of" as in anaerobe versus aerobe and "arch" means "superior, i.e. in contrast to subordinates", as in archbishop, archangel, archduke, arch villain, etc. Thus anarchy, anarchism, anarchist, a.s.o., mean coordination on equal footing, **without superiors and subordinates**, i.e. horizontal organization and co-operation without coercion. This is the **opposite** of the above mentioned authoritarian tendencies, i.e. different types of superiors and subordinates.

3. The above mentioned mixtures of anarchist and authoritarian tendencies are principal contradictions similar to the Newspeak slogan "peace is war" in Orwell's "1984", and have correspondent repressive functions. Anarchists won't have any of that! For obvious reasons significant mixtures of anarchist and authoritarian tendencies should be **denounced**, i.e. as a general anarchist opinion, now and in the future. These actions may be taken on individual, municipal or international level, dependent on the situation.

*) The Greek rooted word for mob rule is ochlarchy. Ochlarchy broadly defined may also be used as a common word for all the authoritarian evils mentioned in part 1. above, i.e. in general lack of security and law and order in a society as a public sector service. This is ochlarchy, the opposite of anarchy, i.e. based on libertarian law and order and security as public sector services, according to the anarchist (IFA) principle of social justice. The ones doing ochlarchy broadly defined are called ochlarchists, i.e. the opposite of anarchists. Sufficient public service of policing is important. Man is not like ants who cooperate socially, naturally and voluntarily without coercion/repression automatically by themselves. Thus, doing away with the existing rule or tendencies of authority may easily result in ochlarchy, mob rule, and not anarchy, if not a firm horizontal social organization, ideally or practically is established with a sufficient police corps to create security and libertarian law and order and to do away with tendencies towards ochlarchy. See http://www.anarchy.no/a_e_p_m.html and search for the keywords "law" and "corps". Furthermore it must be mentioned that variation in the degree of "flatness" of organizations/federations of different purposes and aims may be optimal, say, a police or defence corps organization/federation may have a somewhat less degree of flatness than a study circle. And the police corps shall of course be well educated in libertarian human rights and policing and be democratically regulated and controlled, and bully types, corrupt and other "brown", ochlarchical elements should be expelled mainly during the education process and thus stopped from participating in the police corps.



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MANDATE OF THE INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST TRIBUNAL

The Anarchist Press Tribunal (APT) is a special branch of IAT, the International Anarchist Tribunal of IFA - The International Federations of Anarchists, l'Internationale des Fédérations Anarchistes, The Anarchist International:

Some facts about the International Anarchist Tribunal:

The mandating IFA-congress for the International Anarchist Tribunal was initiated by the general secretary of IFA at that time, i.e. the Italian C.R.I.F.A. secretary Umberto Marzocchi, in a letter to the nordic sections of IFA (ANORG) dated 12th of May 1982. The congress took place in Oslo 15-18th of October 1982, at "Folkets hus", i.e. "The house of the people", and was arranged by the Norwegian Anarchist Federation affiliated to IFA. The first Nordic IFA-congress had two important tasks:

1. to promote the anarchist international outside the mediterranean area in general,
2. to mandate the international's anarchist tribunals to secure that the IFA stays anarchist.

From the Nordic countries broadly defined participated several anarchist groups and organizations, and nationalities (sections) from the Netherlands to Finland; and the mediterranean IFA-sections were represented by a delegation from Paris, i.e. from the French anarchist-federation "Fédération Anarchiste Francaise". Different kinds of anarchists; collectivists, individualists and communist anarchists, as well as green anarchists and international anarchafeminists had delegates (sections) at the congress. Also Sveriges Arbetares Centralorganisation (SAC) participated, as well as delegates from the IAA section of ANORG/IFA, a confederation rooted back to the Scandinavian anarcho-syndicalist organ "Solidaritet" which kept the bounds to the AIT when SAC left in 1959/60. (This does not mean that NAC/ANORG is a member of IAA/AIT. It means that anarchosyndicalists that were or are affiliated to an IAA/AIT-section, also were affiliated to the congress/ANORG/IFA).

The mandate for the anarchist tribunals was unanimously decided upon, and referred (however without details) in IFA-Solidaritet, later renamed International Journal of Anarchism, vol 1982 a.s.o. and the Bulletin C.R.I.F.A. (42) 1982, the two official organs of IFA at that time. This issue

of the Bulletin C.R.I.F.A was also distributed as a supplement to the French anarchist paper "Le Monde Libertaire" (467). An English translation was also distributed. In the mentioned issue of Bulletin C.R.I.F.A. the following is documented:

"El primer congreso anarquista nordico se ha celebrado del 15 al 17 de octubre del 82 en Oslo. Ha estado organizado por la ANORG/IFA (Federación anarquista noruega afiliada a la IFA)... El secretariado nórdico a través del boletín deberá contribuir a organizar actividades comunes, entre otras, ..., **tribunas anarquistas [i.e. the International Anarchist Tribunal]**, ... " The bulletin, "Su título es "IFA-Solidariet" (órgano de las secciones nórdicas de la IFA)" (Bold lettering and explaining note in [...] sat by editor.)

The mandate included the UN-human rights and ethics interpreted in an anarchist way, media tribunals, anarchist decision processing and conflict solution, including a confederal veto on ratification of federal decisions and constitution, i.e. based on the IFA-principles a.s.o., membership acknowledgement and exclusions/expulsions, etc. The international anarchist ombudsman for conflict solution and the arbitration tribunal, are also among the branches of IAT. The practical details of the mandate were left to the International Anarchist Tribunal itself, as an independent and autonomous institution at the IFA secretariate in Oslo. The International Anarchist Tribunal via the Anarchist Press Tribunal issues expelling Brown Cards to ochlarchist infiltrators to the anarchist movement as a part of the Anarchist Internationals general struggle against ochlarchy (mob rule) and ochlarchist infiltration. Ochlarchist infiltrators are of course not a part of the anarchist movement although often posing as anarchists.

The Anarchist Tribunal was already an established institution in Norway in 1982, as a part of the expeditionary group (secretariate) of ANORG. In the early 1980s the activities was mainly internal, but some of the works of the Anarchist Tribunal, i.e. vis-à-vis the media, were also published in Folkebladet/IJ@, see no 1 (13) 1983 and no 3 (13) 1983. The IFA congress in Oslo 1982 made it an **international** tribunal. Thus, it became de facto the **International Anarchist Tribunal - IAT**, although the word "international" was usually not explicitly mentioned in the early days.

The framework for the Oslo Convention of 1990 was prepared by the International Anarchist Tribunal, and is a good example of the mandated work. The proposals from IAT were unanimously decided upon by the international congress-seminar, the **1st Anarchist Biennial**, i.e. the first combined IFA & FICEDL Congress arranged in Oslo 1990.

The only officially mandated organ of IFA/IAF/AI of today, i.e. for the whole world, the *International Journal of Anarchism* ISSN 0800-0220, is also the organ of the International Anarchist tribunal, and has the copyright/TM of the original IFA-logo, with the globe as the dot over the "i" in "ifa". *All information at the official ifa/iaf/ai/AIIS web-site is the*

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In 1997 the term *Anarchist International* (AI) was *officially* introduced, although mentioned several times before, say, in *International Journal of Anarchism*, IJ@ no 10/26 (15) in 1985. The constitution of the Anarchist International AI was officially confirmed on the International Anarchist Congress, i.e. the 5th Anarchist Biennial, arranged by the NAC/IFA/AI in Oslo medio December 1998. The AI is a broader organization and network than the IFA anarchist federations of some countries in the South and North, see <http://www.anarchy.no/ai.html> . The mandate of the IAT is today vis-à-vis the AI, decided on the 5th Anarchist Biennial.

Several keywords and media all over the world are investigated by the APT-IAT, among them the following: anarch, anarchist, anarchy, anarchism, anarchic, anarchical, anarki, anarkisme, anarkist, anarkisk, order, anarchist law, social justice, anarcho-syndicalism, anarchosyndicalism, anarcho-syndicalist, anarcho-individualism, anarchoindividualism, anarcho-individualist, anarcho-communism, anarchocommunism, anarcho-communist, anarcho-collectivism, anarchocollectivism, anarcho-collectivist anarcho-socialism, anarchosocialism, anarcho-socialist, social-anarchism, socialanarchism, social anarchy, social anarchist, social individualism, social individualist anarchism, anarcho-feminism, anarchofeminism, anarchafeminism, eco-anarchism, green anarchism, mutualism, anarcho-mutualism, individualist anarchism, collectivist anarchism, communist anarchism, libertarian socialism, libertarian communism, syndicalism, labor, labour, democracy, direct democracy, anti-authoritarian, non-authoritarian, anarchist principles, ifa, IFA, I.F.A., anorg, ANORG, A.NORG., SAC, decentralized, consensus, radical, international, grass-roots, workers, labor, people, bureaucracy, class analysis, freedom, liberty, solidarity, free contract, free initiative, atheism, antimilitarism, internationalism, decentralism, autonomy and federalism, self management and libertarian communalism, from each according to ability to each according to needs, Spain, Spanish, Espana, Latin, cnt, ait, iaa, iwa, fai, faf, Marzocchi, Chomsky, Bookchin, Kropotkin, Bakunin, Malatesta, Proudhon, libertarian, libertarianism, liberal, liberalist, left-wing, right-wing, rectionaray, progressive, revolution, leftist, individualist, individualism, human rights, civil-rights, civil-liberties, anarcho-syndicalist, organize, anarchist organization, horizontal organization, confederation, federation, revolutionary, reformist, union, a-infos, international journal of anarchism, ija, media, apt, anarchist press tribunal, international anarchist tribunal, CNN, FoxNews, SKY, BBC, NBC, ABC, CBS, TV5, Euronews, ITN, NTB, AP, AFP, Reuter, New York Times, Washington Post, NRK, Aftenposten, Dagsavisen/Arbeiderbladet, Dagbladet, VG, Dagens Næringsliv, etc. Anarchy of Norway, anarchism in Norway, Ibsen, Bjørneboe, Garborg, Steinsvik, Jæger, Hazeland, etc., black flag, black and red flag, anarchist black cross, abc, may day, capitalism, plutarchy, statism, autonomy, socialism, marxism, communism, state-socialism, fascism, populism, liberalism, monarchy, oligarchy, polyarchy, hierarchy,

patriarchy, matriarchy, ochlarchy, mob rule, chaos, chaotic, economic-political map, economical-political map, political, politics, economics, formula of anarchism, formula of anarchy, degree of anarchy, degree of anarchism, libertarian degree, authoritarian degree, authoritarian tendencies, the Oslo convention, anarchist human rights and ethics, efficiency and fairness, political/administrative rank and income/economical differences, non-pacifism, non-terrorism, etc.

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The main resolutions of the international branch of APT:
To see the resolutions from the Nordic branch of IAT-APT, click on <http://www.anarchy.no/apts.html>

Another important resolution is "Anarchists against ochlarchy (mob rule) and ochlarchist infiltration", click on <http://www.anarchy.no/ija133.html>

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TERRORIST OCHLARCHISTS - NOT ANARCHISTS - IN THE PAST
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OCHLARCHY - NOT ANARCHY, IN NEW ORLEANS, USA

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TERRORIST OCHLARCHISTS - NOT ANARCHISTS - IN THE PAST

Post mortem the criminal Bonnot mob, Emil Henry, Nechaev and other terrorists posing as anarchists in the past have got the Brown Card, and have thus got their expulsion from the anarchist movement post mortem. These terrorist ochlarchists posing as anarchists have really never been a part of the anarchist movement, but been ochlarchist infiltrators to the movement. It is an historical mistake to include these persons in the anarchist movement, as they were ochlarchist infiltrators - not really anarchists. Both Bakunin, Kropotkin and Malatesta condemned the terrorism.

NRK-Dagsrevyen 22.05.2004 is wrongly mixing up a terrorist ochlarchist in Spain in the past with an anarchist, and thus gets a Brown Card.

See <http://www.anarchy.no/ija133.html> for more information.

THE ANARCHY OF THE OCEANS

The "Labor party" administration, at NRK-Dagsrevyen 3.8.1995 talks about the anarchy of the oceans, in the meaning of chaos. The anarchy of the oceans, it is the most extensive economic political system on planet Earth. Anarchy is freedom without harming others freedom, i.e. co-operation without coercion. Economic freedom at others expense, in the ocean, i.e. chaos and over fishing. When resources are scarce, horizontal organization is the means to avoid freedom at others expense, and secure the anarchy of the oceans. This may be done in at least three ways: 1. Public NGO, similar to the Swiss local direct democracy, among the concerned, 2. Economic democracy, similar to agricultural co-operatives, 3. Market of quotas, - or a combination. In all three cases, sanctions against "free riders" are a part of the solution... The International anarchist movement denounces this mix of anarchy and chaos by the Norwegian "Labor party" and NRK-Dagsrevyen, and similar cases in the media all over the world.

Notoriously authoritarian spokesmen, reporters, etc., breaking the Oslo-convention of 1990 severely or several times, will receive a **Brown Card** from the Anarchist Press Tribunal as a symbol of free criticism...

Another **Brown Card** goes to Ragnar Kvam Junior and the editors of Dagsrevyen 28.08.2001 at the Norwegian State TV NRK for mixing up anarchy and anarchist conditions with authoritarian tendencies connected to the refugees problem at the Norwegian ship *Tampa* outside Australia. More about this event at: [The Tampa case.](#)

ANARCHIST ORGAN ?

The media sometimes present "Gateavisa" as an "anarchist organ", which is not true. "Gateavisa" is a "counter cultural" organ registered by itself, and supported economically by the Norwegian state, as a cultural periodical. Thus, it is not a political organ. The "counter culture" however reflects in various proportions marxist, liberal, populist, and anarchist tendencies, and so does "Gateavisa". Say, drug **liberalism** is not a part of the anarchist concept. Interview with the ultra-authoritarian **marxist** Johan Galtung, without libertarian critical remarks, and the left wing **marxist** Herbert Marcuse presented as "the philosopher of freedom" may also be mentioned, as well as reports from the mainly **populist** New Age "Alternativ Festival" arranged by the so called "Alternativt Nettverk", spreading astrology, quasiscientific, religious and occultist propaganda. Besides "Gateavisa" is a satirical paper, **officially without defamatory power** since the early 1980-ties...

As far as we know the only officially mandated and publicly registered **political organ** of the anarchist movement is **International Journal of Anarchism**/Folkebladet ISSN 0800 0220, and it is not supported by the state or commercial interests either. **Anarchism is a political concept....**

Having Kumbel's famous notion on joking in mind, we must ask the media to stop calling "Gateavisa" "anarchist organ", because it is not, and promotes chaos. The international anarchist movement denounces these authoritarian

doings, and doesn't accept the use of the word "anarchist organ" in this connection, which is disinformation. Notoriously authoritarian reporters, spokesmen, editors, etc, breaking the Oslo-convention of 1990 severely or several times, will receive a Brown card from the Anarchist Press Tribunal as a symbol of free criticism...

Similar Brown Card **warnings** are related to "Spunk Press", presenting a mix of "*anarchist, alternative and underground*", "Tigerden - Love and Rage @-fed." (later closed down), and other more or less disordered "counter-cultural" or "alternative" groups and organs all over the world... ***Promoters of contradictions from "anarcho-marxism", via "anarcho-populism" to "anarcho-capitalism"; i.e. marxism, populism, and liberalism in a state of confusion, and thus not anarchism, anarchy or anarchist...***

The so called Libertarian Party in the USA and the "anarcho-capitalists", have probably not the full understanding of the realities concerning **plutarchy**, i.e. capitalism, and thus not anarchy, i.e. libertarian/libertaire/freiheitliches/frihetlig. Thus, to be taken seriously, they should both agree to be **semi-libertarian, i.e. to the right** on the Economic-Political map, **outside** the Quadrant of Anarchism (if not right wing extremists or fascists in disguise). In Baltikum an "anarchist organization", appeared on a web-page decorated with **swastikas**. Thus we have probably nazis that openly acts as anarchists. It must also be mentioned that nazi-skinheads appeared at the open anarchist-conference in Stockholm 1983, wanting to "join the anarchist-movement", of course for provoking and compromising the anarchists. They were however put at place by the Northern IFA-secretariate in a firm way at this event. But of course probably they try elsewhere all of the time, and sometimes less openly.

A special Brown Card warning goes to Kaj Skagen, a Norwegian **left populist "light"** author and follower of Rudolf Steiner, "explaining" anarcho-individualism as a dangerous and especially destructive form of alcoholism, leading to suicide, in his essay "Metafysikk eller selvmord", Cappelen 1996, and "Jens Bjørneboe og antroposofien" p. 16 Aft.p. 20.01.1997. This says perhaps the most about the intellectual capacity of Devakan, the world bank of knowledge of Rudolf Steiner and his supporters!

Populists/fascists posing as libertarian, anarchist and/or anti-authoritarian are well known. Jürg Haider's "Libertarian Party" in Austria is more or less fascist. The populist Fr.p in Norway at the Stortings election 2001 declared themselves as "the most anti-authoritarian party in Norway", probably to get votes from the anarchists and other real democrats. This was of course rejected by the anarchists. Although there is probably (still) a small faction of more or less libertarian to the right within the Fr.p, they are far from a majority and have little to none influence. Several groups of "anarcho-nationalists" have appeared on Internet. None of these groups have anything to do with anarchism on the economical-political map. They are all just populists/fascists in disguise. **See below for more information on this problem.**

Anarcho-individualism , i.e. individualist anarchism and mutualism rooted back to Pierre- Joseph Proudhon, etc., with Benjamin Tucker as a typical theorist, and updated to our generation by others, is not much more of a mental challenge than being a member of the Norwegian co-op "Samvirkelag".

Anarcho-individualism is also to work independent on equal footing, say, individually as farmers, or together as a hairdressers' cooperative. Furthermore, atheism, as well as to be a teetotaler, are encouraged by anarchism, included anarcho-individualism. Thus, it is not anarchist to bow for "King Alcohol" and spiritualism. Mentally, the idea of anarcho-individualism is no danger to anyone, it probably contributes to a feel good factor, and to make people more robust against stress than averagely. It must be mentioned that Kaspar Schmidt's, alias Max Stirner's, teutonian individualism, must be seen all in all and with irony, not partially and literally, to be understood in an anarchist way, and it is more supplemental to anarcho-individualism. In this context, Kant's brief definition of anarchy: **Freedom without violence** ; should also be remembered. Thus, the author Jens Bjørneboe's problem was obviously not the mental challenge of anarcho-individualism.

By the way, **Jens Bjørneboe** is called the most important Norwegian poetical writer after Henrik Ibsen. Politically Bjørneboe was early influenced by **liberalism** and the syndicalist **populism** of Rudolf Steiner. Later he turned towards bohemian **marxism**. At the age of 46 years, he declared to be an **anarchist** , an economic-political flash perhaps lasting a bit longer than his later *Goodbye to the alcohol (Farvel til alkoholen)*. However, Bjørneboe's anarchism is not always easy to identify in his stories, mainly due to **chaotic fantasies or retrospective elements related to the liberal, populist and marxist days**. His main writings on anarchism are quoted in a report published by *Anarkistenes organisasjon i Norden* . The strange circumstances around the early violent death of Jens Bjørneboe, have never been thoroughly investigated. This could be discussed more, perhaps also in a perspective similar to the *Lund commission*. It is however also said Bjørneboe had problems with the health, mainly with the liver, due to drinking. Others say he got the drinking problem under control, and that he was working optimistically on an anarchist historical play, in his latest days. Some notes to such a play are known.

Mentioning **syndicalism** , broadly defined, revolutionary or reformist, there are different political tendencies related to the Economic-political map, i.e. anarchist, marxist (state-socialist), liberal, or populist and fascist. Some labor organizations may include several political tendencies. Anarchism and anarchosyndicalism mean coordination on equal footing, without superiors and subordinates, i.e. horizontal organization and cooperation without coercion. To put it simple: *Negation de l'autorite et de tout pouvoir*. Thus, the concepts of worker's and people's power (arbeidermakt, folkemakt) are not anarchist concepts. Economic-political power means authoritarian systems, they who have power are superiors in contrast to subordinates; i.e. bureaucracy, oligarchy, ochlarchy (mob rule), polyarchy, or similar, and **not the people**. Thus, *power to the people* is contradictory, and practically speaking impossible. Thus, any group calling for power to the people (folkemakt, arbeidermakt) is a fraud, and represents **chaos** and **authoritarian policy** .

Samfunnspartiet, founded by Bertram D. Brochmann, is not anarchist. The young Brochman was relatively libertarian, but he ended up as populist "light".

To the left (not upwards) on the Economic-Political map, we have the followers of the former Soviet communist party. The Russian marxists, and state-socialists in **other countries**, have had a **bad habit** of putting up several

black flags fronting their mass of red flags at demonstrations in the latest years. These **marxists posing as "anarchists", i.e. "anarcho-syndicalists", "anarcho-bolsheviks", etc. included**, are authoritarian, and sometimes **terrorists** or similar, and of course have no relations to the anarchist movement. This type of bad habit is not new: The echoes of the **social democrat** Lenin's marxist, tactical posing as "anarchist", talking about "anarchist's theories" in a somewhat positive way and "withering away of the state" in his book "The state and revolution" of 1917, while he and his comrades Stalin and Trotsky and other state-socialists were doing everything to create a totalitarian state and **union** behind the back of the people, and imprisoning and killing anarchists, are still to be heard!

No anarchist would suggest that these and similar marxistoid "anarchists" should be taken seriously as anarchists! And the trotskyist based "Love and rage - Revolutionary Anarchist Federation" in the USA (later closed down), **Ken Loach** and the marxist POUM propaganda movie "Tierra y Libertad"- *Land and Freedom* - etc., Peter Bach and some fake, selfstyled "ABC-groups", Majordomo "A-infos":..."spreading the virus"?!, **Carter Butts**, Luthor Gaylord's trotskyist IWW and Jamal Hannah's "IWW-organization" promoting a mix of marxists as Gramsci and Herbert Marcuse etc, some marxists posing as anarchists, and a dash of real anarchism, presented at different web-sites, i.e. "anarchist", "libertarian", "punk terrorist", "anarcho-syndicalist" etc., **should not be taken more seriously! "Leftism" is not anarchism! Anarchism is upwards** on the Economical Politcal Map! (If you don't turn it round). The **Industrial** Workers of the World - IWW (that must not be mixed up with the anarchosyndicalist **International** Workers of the World, IWW/AI, see <http://www.anarchy.no/iwwai.html>), in general of today is neither an anarchist nor anarchosyndicalist nor liberatrian organization, it is a mainly a marxist syndicalistic organization of basically communist Trotskyite type and Lubbeist socialistic tendencies. Although not itself saying it is libertarian or syndicalist directly, the **Industrial**-WW, on many web-sites have been wrongly classified as anarchosyndiclaist or libertarian socialist. One good thing must however be said about the Industrial-WW. They clearly states on their (unofficial, but main) web-site, that they are **not** the anarchosyndicalist International-WW, i.e. the IWW/AI. IWW/AI is also against the "all workers - one union" strategy of the Industrial-WW and others, that reminds anarchists of the Soviet Union, and their intrigues, lies and smearstories related to Jamal Hannah & co at jah@iww.org against the Anarchist International and its sections, similar to Marx's intrigues etc. against Bakunin in the First International. Nobody should link up to this student commie type joke of an "industrial union" nor take it seriously. Boycott "Industrial-WW"! They also may see this **as a strong Brown Card warning**. If they don't correct the smearstories and lies, they may soon get the Brown Card. There are, as indicated above, several other marxist groups and fascists/neonazis posing as "anarchosyndicalists", "anarchobolsheviks", "anarchonationalists", "revolutionary syndicalists" etc. Say, in Sweden 1999 a real anarchosyndicalist *Björn Söderberg* of SAC was killed by two nazis, after trying to stop the fascist infiltration in a union-club. 23.10.1999 about 20-40000 persons all over Sweden demonstrated against fascism and to honor the memory of the brave syndicalist.

As mentioned the Anarchist Conference in Stockholm, arranged by the Nordic IFA secretariate and the Swedish section of the Anarchist International, in 1983, several neonazi skinheads tried to infiltrate the movement, but strong measures were taken to stop these dangerous intruders. These effort of the Anarchist International was however a good investment.... Our fellows at SAC have, as mentioned, been less lucky dealing with this problem.

The IAT calls on all anarchists, anarchosyndicalists included, to be on the alert against authoritarian infiltration: Fascists, nazists, trotskyite, lubbeists, red brigades, etc. A stitch in time saves nine - better look before you leap, i.e. organizations ruined, persons being wounded or be killed.

"The fight against fascism begins with the fight against bolshevism"
(Otto Rühle)

Not to mention the Norwegian marxist social democrat Turid Larsen, mixing up "*Knoll og Tott*", i.e. the "*Katzenjammer Twins*", **mob rule** tendencies, similar to some secret services "stay behind" type **ochlarchy**, with anarchism and "anarchist twins", in Arbeiderbladet 17.01.1997. Say, the Norwegian Labor Party's (AP's) Arne "Knoll" Treholt, spying for KGB, and Arvid "Tott" Engen, the so called Spider of Jessheim, were by no means acting like anarchists. They were by all means **marxists**, and represent probably only the tip of the iceberg, i.e. chaotic bureaucratic secret service type tendencies, still present, and a problem in the Norwegian society as well as internationally. By the way, talking about comic stars and similar: "*Judge Dredd*" at TV 1000 cannot fight both chaos and anarchy, i.e. order.

Carter Butts' proposed "definition" of anarchy: "Any form of societal organization without a ruler or other form of centralized, coercive control," is quite funny, as it is so vague that a) not only all semi-libertarian ideologies become "anarchy", but also b) most of trotskyist and leninist sects, left wing extremists, as well as free marketers and right wing extremists, rioters and mob rule; and thus c) this "definition" is **contradictive and meaningless**. IFA-IAF-AI is by no means sectarian, but to have an open mind, is not the same as to blow out the brains...

A similar "definition" is discussed at the IFA-IAF introduction page, and we shall repeat and continue this discussion here:

Anarchy is the highest form of social order, and thus "chaotic anarchy" is similar to "chaotic-order" = "chaotic non-chaotic", i.e. a contradiction and meaningless. An example of a chaotic, and thus **not valid** proposed "definition" of anarchy, is the following: "*Anarchy means without ruler or any form of centralized, coercive government.*" In real terms this definition excludes monarchy, but does not rule out decentralized forms of plutarchy (capitalism), oligarchy (majority or minority dictatorship), hierarchy (significant rank or economic differences, or government by guru/priests), polyarchy (many rulers) and ochlarchy (mob rule) from the concept of anarchy, and thus is contradictive. A definition of anarchy which does not exclude plutarchy, hierarchy, oligarchy, polysrchy and ochlarchy in a proper way, is of course not valid, and thus wrong similar to Orwellian "1984-newspeak" or a definition of $2+2 = 3$ or 4 or 5 , which does contradict reality for all known things as we know them, because no thing doubles itself or disappears by itself arbitrary at the same moment, in reality. And thus $2+2=4$, and nothing else. $2+2=3$ or $2+2=5$ is wrong. Magic and contradictions are

fraud or virtual reality, not reality, as far as we know it today. Anarchist systems may be anarcho-communist, -collectivist, -individualist, or other, i.e. social individualist anarchism; social anarchy, anarchism and federalism etc. included. Thus, there are four sectors within the anarchist quadrant of the economic-political world & map, not three or five.

A system or society cannot at the same time be both anarchist and non-anarchist, i.e. chaotic. If a system is chaotic, it is not found in the anarchist quadrant on the EP map, but left, down or right. Anarchist policy is typically consistent, flexible, but not opportunistic, related to principles; while authoritarian policy typically is chaotic, opportunistic, conglomerate aggregates. Economic-political power corrupts, and total power corrupts absolutely. Conflicts among "states within the state", and olig- and other archical corruption, repression, coercion and other chaotic behavior, i.e. mutually included, are well known. Chaos is typically found at more than 67% authoritarian degree below zero, i.e. basically totalitarian systems.

The degree of anarchy is 100% minus the authoritarian degree, i.e. within the anarchist quadrant. Systems with authoritarian degree less than 50% outside the anarchist quadrant are semi-libertarian, i.e. not significant authoritarian, but not anarchist. ***Thus, mixed concepts as anarcho- capitalism, liberalism, marxism, populism, statism, chaos, authoritarian, totalitarian, etc. are all contradictions, inconsistent and meaningless. Thus, they are not anarchy, anarchist, or anarchism, but something else, outside the Anarchist Quadrant on the Economical Political Map.*** A system's coordinates cannot practically be located in two or more quadrants of the map at the same time. A system's coordinates reflect the system seen all in all, i.e. what is significant.

ANARCHISM AND VIOLENCE - BROWN CARDS

Anarchists against political extremism

Political extremism is use of, or threat of use of, violence against persons and/or things, to achieve political aims. Political extremism is authoritarian, ochlarchist (ochlarchy = mob rule), the opposite of anarchist, according to the Oslo Convention. Persons doing political extremism is ochlarchists, the opposite of anarchists, and are thus expelled from the anarchist movement, regardless of what they may claim to be. Such ochlarchist infiltrators to the anarchist movement, get an expelling Brown Card from the International Anarchist Tribunal, for breaking the Oslo Convention. (The only violence accepted by anarchists is violence in self defence, i.e. not political extremism. Anarchism is neither pacifism, nor political extremism, terrorism included.)

So called "autonomous" groups are marxist, not anarchist

Socialism is divided in autonomous socialism = anarchism, and statist socialism = marxism, on the economical-political map. Marxism may be semilibertarian = authoritarian degree is < 50%, or authoritarian = authoritarian degree > 50%, see map at http://www.anarchy.no/a_e_p_m.html. All authoritarian socialism is marxism, never anarchism. So called "autonomous" groups are political extremists, i.e. authoritarian, and anticapitalist, i.e. socialist (unless fascists in disguise). Political extremism is use of, or threat of use of, violence against persons and/or things, to achieve political aims. Political extremism is

authoritarian, ochlarchist (ochlarchy = mob rule), the opposite of anarchist, according to the Oslo Convention, see <http://www.anarchy.no/oslo.html>. Persons doing political extremism are ochlarchists, the opposite of anarchists, and are thus expelled from the anarchist movement, regardless of what they may claim to be. Such ochlarchist infiltrators to the anarchist movement, get an expelling Brown Card from the International Anarchist Tribunal, for breaking the Oslo Convention. So called "autonomous" groups are marxist, authoritarian socialist, not anarchist, on the economical-political map. And thus so called "autonomous" groups don't represent autonomous socialism, i.e. anarchism, although they may use some anarchist and autonomous phrases. So called "autonomous" groups are marxist, not anarchist, and in reality not significant autonomous, but authoritarian, based on statism, i.e. significant. They are acting like states within the state, protostates, doing authoritarian statism, marxism not anarchism. Anarchism is the progressive middle on the economical political map, not far left or far right.

FC 55 ETC TERRORISM - BROWN CARD

BROWN CARDS TO THE UNABOMBER, PRIMITIVISTS, ETC.

The "FC 55", "Freedom Club - 55", called Unabomber by FBI, has notoriously been mixing up anarchy etc., with chaos, terrorism and similar authoritarian tendencies, since the new nazi wave started in the seventies. The Unabomber (Theodore Kaczynski) is a psychopathic killer and FC 55 also is a +3 code for IF 88, i.e. International Fascists, Hail Hitler, as in Zorn 88.

The fascist tactic of creating chaos (ochlarchy = mob rule broadly defined), falsely naming it "anarchy", i.e. "libertarian" or "freiheitliches" etc., and (later) call for the "strong man", is internationally well known.

Among other cases, in Norway the DKP, promoting "anarchy" with fascist methods, and Fr.p may be mentioned; in Germany FAP, RAF (Baader Meinhof); Greece the MK & Enraged Wolves, Autonomous Cells of Rebel Action, Anarchist Liberation Brigade, Overthrow Anarchist Faction, May 15, Brass Knuckle Anarchist Punks, Anarchist Group of Virona, Last Generation, Anarchist Faction, Uncontrolled Rage, Children of Fire, Anti-Establishment Nucleus, Anarchist Struggle, Anarchists' Attack Group (AAG), Burning Path (Flegomeno Monopati), Anarchist Street Patrol, 21 June, Anti-Statist Justice (Antistatlig rättvisa); France The Group Bakounine Gdansk Paris Guatemala Salvador (GBGPSG), Action Directe International (ADi), Action Directe; Italy Sardinian Autonomy Movement (MAS), Solidarieta Internazionale, Sinistra Ante Parlamentare, Informal Anarchist Federation (Federazione Anarchia Informale), Fronte Rivoluzionario del Comunismo (FRC), Cooperative of Hand-Made Fire and Related Items (Cooperativa Artigiana Fuoco e Affini), Proletarian Nuclei for Communism (Nuclei Proletari per Comunismo - NPC), The Five C's, Brigata XX Luglio, Brigata Arrabbiata, Red Brigades (Brigate Rosse); Spain Los Anarquistas; Austria - Freiheitliches Partei of Jürg Haider; Sweden the "*olympian bomber*" and *Frihetsfronten*, sometimes called "anarcho"-capitalists i.e. extreme free marketers. "Anarcho"-capitalism, i.e. anarcho-plutarchy, a contradiction, "insurrectional anarchism", i.e. terrorism; "Anarcho"-nationalists, i.e. neonazis, at Internet; USA John Zerzan, Daniel Quinn, and ELF - primitivism and neo-ludditisme; Anarho-sindikalisticka inicijativa et. al. from the ex-Yugoslavian region, a.s.o. These things are occurring several places in Europe,

USA, etc. **Brown terror, sometimes with a dash of red or blue (or green), is neither "freiheitliches" nor "anarchistisch". "Anarchist" ideals or aims, combined with authoritarian methods, are marxism, fascism or liberalism on the economic-political map, and are thus not anarchism or anarchist.** Even Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Mao and Pol Pot, had vague "anarchist" or "classless" ideals - like a "pie in the sky", but they were not libertarian or anarchists. The fight against fascism starts with the fight against marxism.

It is not the outspoken aim that counts. **The real aim is the consequences of the use of the means involved, not some ideological manifesto with good intentions.** Aims in ideological manifestos may be "anticapitalist", "anti-imperialist", "antistatist", "antifascist", "antipower", "antihierarchy", "antiauthoritarian", "anarchist" and similar with good intentions, but this is not relevant. A typically fascistoid statement used by ochlarchist, terrorist, infiltrators posing as "anarchists" is: "All those attacks which are carefully directed towards the structures of power, administration of USA, EU and NATO, as well as on the other hierarchic and authoritative structures within the society, under the presumption of wide support, can only be treated by definition of legitimate anti-fascists resistance." This authoritarian statement gives a false "legitimation" of terrorism, i.e. authoritarian means and methods. **The real aims are always the consequences of the means that are used, and nothing else. A few pounds of dynamite will never change the powerstructure, as Kropotkin stated. Terrorism is an unfruitful departure from anarchism, not a part of it.** Anarchism means anarchist, i.e. non-authoritarian, means and methods, as well as anarchist ends and aims. History and all relevant science, i.e. excluding materialistic and other dialectics, New Age, and similar **quasi-science**, demonstrate **it is not possible to reach anarchist ends with authoritarian means. In general if the means involved are creating chaos (ochlarchy = mob rule broadly defined), it is promoting fascism or other dictatorship, calls for a "strong man", and not anarchism, i.e. real democracy.**

The statements and manifesto of FC 55, say, defending Manuel Noriega, promoting "anarchist power" - a contradiction; reactionary, i.e. brown "environmentalism", neo-ludditism, etc., [as well as the statements of his later supporter John Zerzan, another brown environmentalist (primitivism)], are just some authoritarian nonsense, made up to promote chaos, and put the blame on anarchists/anarchism. To bow for this tyrant (arch) and print such nonsense, as the newspapers N.Y. Times and Washington Post have done initiated by the FBI; it just promotes more of the same, as well as international contempt!

As

a) the U.S. "counter terrorist expert" Yonah Alexander at CNN 27.7.1996 still promotes the Unabomber as "anarchist", and

b) 7.8.1996 Helle Hoyness (Dagbladet), Arve Henriksen (Aft.p. Aften), and "Radio- og TV-nyheter" (Arbeiderbladet), call such a manifesto "anarchist", commenting NRK's program about the Unabomber 21.00 - 7.8.1996 (a program which however did not mention anarchist and anarchism at all),

- they may share this Brown Card together with the responsible at Washington Post, N.Y. Times, FBI and the FC 55, released 20.9.1995, and updated several

times. **The international anarchist movement denounces these authoritarian doings, and of course doesn't accept the use of the word anarchist in this connection, which is disinformation.** The **Anarchist Press Tribunal** issues the **Brown Card** as a symbol of free criticism, to notoriously authoritarian reporters, spokesmen, editors, etc., mixing up anarchist and chaotic tendencies as mentioned above, and thus breaking the Oslo-convention of 1990 severely or several times... **Brown Cards also go to all the persons and organizations mentioned above, and to the media and others calling them anarchists and their authoritarian ideology anarchist, anarchism or anarchy. They will bring, or brought about, nothing but authoritarian tendencies and systems, far from anarchy or anarchist. All the mentioned organizations get Brown Cards for mixing up anarchist with chaotic and other authoritarian tendencies according to the Oslo Convention of 1990, and are thus expelled and banned from the anarchist movement. A special a Brown Card goes to <http://www.tkb.org/>** Terrorism Knowledge Base, and MIPT (The National Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism) for several times wrongly mixing up anarchists with chaos, ochlarchy and terrorists.

The Atlanta city bombing 27.7.1996 is perhaps a similar act of terrorism, and will be treated by the APT in the same way. The leader for this highly authoritarian act, also called the Oklahoma-bomber, was however not named anarchist or libertarian, but "anti-government", in this case a brown&blue conservative fundamentalist.

24.05.2003 No anarchistgroup behind bomb blast in Spain! This act of terrorism is done by ochlarchists, not anarchists. The IAT gives a Brown Card to this group of terroristical ochlarchists and the newsmedia spreading disinformation, mixing them up with anarchists. The Brown Cards of course also means expulsion of the terrorist infiltrators, posing as anarchists, from the anarchist movement. 01.04.2004 No anarchists behind letterbombs in Spain. This act of terrorism is done by ochlarchists, not anarchists. The IAT gives a Brown Card to these terroristical ochlarchists and the newsmedia, including Euronews, spreading disinformation, mixing them up with anarchists. The Brown Cards of course also means expulsion of the terrorist infiltrators, posing as anarchists, from the anarchist movement.

No anarchists behind bombs against Romano Prodi and the European Parliament etc.

So called "anarchists" have been suspected of putting up bombs to hit Romano Prodi in Italy in December 2003, and a letter bomb explodes at the office of a British MEP hours after another parcel ignites at European Parliament HQ 05.01.2004. These so called "anarchists" ("Informal Anarchic Federation" and "Sardinian Anarcho-Insurrectionalist Gang") are however not anarchists, but ochlarchist infiltrators to the anarchist movement (ochlarchy = mob rule broadly defined). The ochlarchists may very well be on the payroll of Berlusconi & Co, as they have put up false "anarchists" before, i.e. police provokers. Anyway the ochlarchists are not anarchists because ochlarchism and anarchism are opposite political tendencies. BBC and other media 28.12.2003 and 05.01.2004, and The Guardian 04.02. 2004 wrongly putting the blame on (suspected) anarchists instead of ochlarchists, get a Brown Card for breaking

the Oslo Convention in this matter. The so called "Informal Anarchic Federation" and the "Sardinian Anarcho-Insurrectionalist Gang" get an expelling Brown Card from the IAT. These "anarchist federations" have nothing to do with the real anarchist movement and are not members or associate of it. The Anarchist International works against the supranational EU-mega State, but of course with democratic means, not terrorism. Terrorism is a form of ochlarchy, and anarchy and ochlarchy are opposite things.

Ochlarchists, not anarchist terrorists in Italy

18.08.2004: Local reports say a second device was also found in the Porto Rotundo area, on the Sardinian coast, after a newspaper received a tip-off. Italian news agency Ansa said the caller claimed to be from the leftist Proletarian Combatant Groups (NPC). Mr Blair and his wife Cherie left Sardinia on Tuesday after a short stay. Italy has been on heightened security alert after a general terror threat from a group linked to al-Qaeda. The group had threatened to attack Italy if it failed to withdraw its troops from Iraq. But this bomb was said to have been left by an Italian anarchist organisation which the national Corriere della Sera newspaper says has carried out 20 attacks in the last four years, including small bombings of government party headquarters in Sardinia. **This group is not anarchist but ochlarchist terrorists, and gets a Brown Card with expulsion from the anarchist movement.**

10-11.05.2005 No anarchist group behind taking of 150 hostages and violence in Greece. Small groups of ochlarchists, some students at the university, regularly disrupt peaceful protest marches by other groups in a bid to provoke police. They have also been blamed for small gas canister-type bomb attacks on banks, police stations and embassies. 20.05.2005 Greek ochlarchists posing as anarchists clashed with the police. These acts of mob rule including terrorism are done by ochlarchists, not anarchists, although they are posing as such. The IAT gives a Brown Card to these groups of terroristical and violent ochlarchists and the newsmedia spreading disinformation, mixing them up with anarchists. The Brown Card of course also means expulsion of the ochlarchist and terrorist infiltrators, posing as anarchists, from the anarchist movement.

Green "Anarchy" = ochlarchy, Brown Card to the Green Anarchy Collective

20.09.2004. The so called Green Anarchy Collective writes in an article in Green Anarchy # 17: "We feel that it is important to move towards a radically decentralized world, ... destroy all the institutions and physical manifestations [of civilization]... We want to become uncivilized. In more general terms, this is the trajectory of green anarchy in thought and practice. Civilization... is ... our enemy. "

What we need is a more civilized world, i.e. libertarian, not destruction of the civilization. A radically decentralized world without civilization will end up in authoritarian ochlarchy (mob rule) tendencies as mentioned in the Oslo Convention of 1990. Green Anarchy is thus mixing up anarchy and authoritarian tendencies and gets a Brown Card, meaning expulsion from the anarchist movement.

ANARCHY VS ECONOMIC-POLITICAL CHAOS

Authoritarians notoriously mix up anarchy, anarchist and anarchism with **authoritarian tendencies**: Chaos, disorder, mob rule, lawlessness, the law of the jungle, criminality, riots, theft, corruption, drugs, mafia, terrorism, autocratic rule, the right to the strongest, antisocial tyrannic behavior, etc. i.e. **different types of superiors and subordinates**. This also includes **very chaotic, authoritarian social systems**, i.e. rivaling polyarchy and ochlarchy (mob rule broadly defined).

Anarchy etc. mean coordination on equal footing, **without superiors and subordinates**, i.e. horizontal organization and cooperation without coercion. Ideally or practically. In short **anarchy and anarchism mean "system and management without ruler(s), i.e. cooperation without repression, tyranny and slavery"**. This is the **opposite** of the mentioned authoritarian tendencies and systems.

In the 1990s and later several examples of **very chaotic, authoritarian systems** have been registered, say, in **Bosnia-Herzegovina, Liberia, Rwanda, Albania, Sierra Leone, Congo, Solomon Islands, Burundi, Iraq, Haiti, Somalia, Ivory Coast, Kyrgyzstan etc.**, and wrongly called anarchy by some of the media.

These very authoritarian, chaotic economic-political systems may be **marxist, populist, fascist, nazi, or liberalism in a chaotic manner, but not anarchy, anarchist or anarchism**.

Thus, the Anarchist Press Tribunal issues a BROWN CARD WARNING to the media mixing up anarchy and very chaotic authoritarian systems, i.e. ochlarchies. Notoriously authoritarian reporters, spokesmen, etc, breaking the Oslo-convention of 1990 severely or several times, will receive a BROWN CARD from the Anarchist Press Tribunal as a symbol of free criticism...

APT issues a special Brown Card warning to the editors at World News, CNN 28.06.97, who probably not yet have discovered that **Albania** has one of the most authoritarian economic-political systems in Europe, and wrongly call it "anarchy". The system in Albania is ochlarchy and chaos, i.e. authoritarian - and thus not anarchy. The capitalistic pyramid mob rule of Berisha & Co, and the chaotic ochlarchy initiated by marxists, are by no means anarchy or anarchist, i.e. horizontal organization and co-operation without coercion, i.e. repression.

A similar Brown Card warning is issued to Helge Øgrim, NTB - Aftenposten 18.07.97, about **Liberia**. The very authoritarian and chaotic economic-political system of this African country is either marxist, populist, fascist, nazi, or liberalism, and thus not anarchist or anarchy as suggested by Helge Øgrim. Another Brown Card goes to Tove Gravdal for mixing up the more than 666 per thousand authoritarian degree hell in Liberia with "anarchy" in Aftenposten 12.07.2003. See also Nordic Branch of APT about the Brown Card to Tove Gravdal. A Brown Card also goes to Barnaby Phillips at BBC 07.08.2003 for calling the bloody chaos, rivaling polyarchy and ochlarchy (mob rule) in Monrovia, Liberia, for "anarchy", i.e. quite misleading. Another Brown Card goes to NRK-Utsyn 16.12.2003 for calling the violent ochlarchy (mob rule) in Congo, with lack of law and order, "anarchy". Anarchy and anarchism always have plenty of law and order, i.e. libertarian law and order based on human rights. If not, the system is significant authoritarian, and not anarchy and

anarchism, see <http://www.anarchy.no/lov1.html> and <http://www.anarchy.no/oslo.html> . Thus, there is no anarchy in Congo.

06-7.03.2002: BBC News' Emily Buchanan reports about possible "anarchy" in **Sudan** and **Iraq**, probably mixing it up with oligarchy, polyarchy, ochlarchy and rivaling "states within the state", i.e. in short chaos, the quite opposite of anarchy, i.e. real democracy and order. This authoritarian mix of anarchy and chaos gives BBC's Emily B. a Brown Card warning. **We'll like to "see Emily play" with something she understands better in the future...**

A similar Brown card warning goes to BBC and NRK Altid Nyheter 17.07.2003 reporting about "the Solomon Islands have been sliding towards anarchy" lately, probably meaning rivaling polyarchy and ochlarchy, chaos and mutual repression included, and not really anarchy.

A Brown Card goes to BBC's Ben Brown who reported about the "total chaos of anarchy" related to the situation in Iraq at BBC TV 11.04.2003. BBC's Ben Brown also reported 06 & 07.04.2003 about "anarchy" related to the situation in Basra on BBC TV. - Forget it! You mean chaos, ochlarchy (mob rule) & rivaling polyarchy, lawlessness and looting (theft) we think, quite the opposite of anarchy, and thus breaking the Oslo convention, see (click on) <http://www.anarchy.no/oslo.html> . For a general update on law and anarchism search for "law" in http://www.anarchy.no/a_e_p_m.html . See also Nordic branch of APT-IAT about the situation in Iraq after the rule of Saddam Hussein. The situation in Iraq at the moment is an extreme form of liberalism, not anarchism.

A Brown Card goes to BBC and NRK-Alltid Nyheter 03.08.2003 reporting about "*lawless anarchy*" in Basra, Iraq, for breaking the Oslo convention severely. The situation in Basra with rivaling polyarchy and "states within the state", ochlarchy (mob rule), **lawlessness**, chaos and mutual repression, is very authoritarian, and thus quite the opposite of anarchy.

Prime Minister Ranil Wickramasinghe has 04.11.2003 accused President Chandrika Kumaratunga of bringing Sri Lanka to the verge of anarchy and chaos, according to BBC and several other newsmedia. If it is on the verge of anarchy the country cannot be on the verge of chaos, because anarchy is quite the opposite of chaos, according to the Oslo Convention, and Ranil Wickramasinghe gets a Brown Card from IAT-APT together with the newsmedia. BBC and NRK-Alltid nyheter get a Brown Card for a similar statement about "anarchy" and chaos in Haiti 10.01.2004. NRK-Urix gets a Brown Card 26.02.2004 for stating "anarkiet hersker", "anarchy rules" in Haiti, wrongly mixing up "anarchy" with ochlarchy. Anarchy rules ok in Norway since 1994/95, ochlarchy rules in Haiti 2004, and that is not ok. 29.09.2004 and 06.01.2005: NRK-Alltid Nyheter talks about chaos and "anarchy" in Somalia, mixing up rivaling polyarchy, ochlarchy and chaos with anarchy, and thus gets a Brown Card. 06.03.2005 NRK- Dagsrevyen reports about "anarchy" in Somalia, and shares the Brown Card of 06.01.2005. 25.03.2005 NRK-Dagsrevyen reports about "anarchy" in Kyrgyzstan, mixing up anarchy with rivaling polyarchy and ochlarchy, i.e. mob rule broadly defined, included looting (theft) and chaos, and thus breaking the Oslo Convention and gets a Brown Card. 26.03.2005 Sveriges Radio reports about "anarchy" and chaos in Kyrgyzstan, and shares the Brown Card with NRK.

14.11.2004: Euronews is reporting: During a public debate in the city of Marseille, the French president said Paris would carry on with its UN peacekeeping mandate, which he says was also backed by other African nations. In criticism of the regime of Ivorian President Laurant Gbagbo, he said he would not leave the former colony, which was once a model to others, to head down a road towards "anarchy and fascism". The French president is probably mixing up rivaling polyarchy, ochlarchy and chaos with anarchy, and thus gets a Brown Card. Anarchy and fascism are opposite systems on the Economical-Political map, and thus anarchy cannot exist together with fascism at the same time and place.

Brown Card to V. Putin. Anarchy is democracy, not chaos

24.02.2005 V. Putin, president of the Russian Federation, at a press conference in Bratislava, Slovakia, stated "... democracy is not anarchy..." probably meaning anarchy = chaos. But Putin is wrong. Anarchy is real democracy, economical and political/administrative, i.e. both the degree of socialism and autonomy broadly defined > 50%. Any democracy that is not anarchy is pseudo-democracy/authoritarian. The Russian federation of today is a pseudo-democracy/authoritarian, not real democracy, i.e. anarchy. Putin gets the Brown Card for mixing up anarchy with chaos, and thus breaking the Oslo Convention.

ANARCHISM VS MYSTICISM AND SATANISM

Some authors, spokesmen and editors have been mixing up "anarchism" and "mysticism". To put it simple "anarchy" is "neither god nor master", i.e. the negation of "religious, divine and/or satanic power". Thus, anarchists may well discuss metaphysics, but the basic anarchist principle in this matter is atheism, because so far no significant evidence exists to reject this hypothesis... The typical and principal anarchist point of view is ca 100% atheism with a dash of agnosticism. As anarchy means an-arch-y, system without arch, - anarchy, anarchists, anarchism and the libertarian in general are also principally against the archenemy, in the meaning of satan, antichrist, the devil, demons, etc. if any, i.e. as mentioned not very likely in a metaphysical, supernatural or similar way.

However there are more than enough real authoritarian chaos-rulers, in this sense devils or the archenemy, on earth, although of course even such persons, "beasts", with more than 666 per thousand authoritarian degree, also are humans and have the same human rights as anyone else. To put a brand of Cain, stigmatize or demonish a person or group, doing ochlarchy, witchhunt against persons, lynch mobs, witchburning, crucifixion and crucifying, holocaust, etc, and in this way defining them as **untermench**, should thus be avoided 100%, although such arch persons and organizations of course must be handled realistical. Say, Saddam Hussein and Osama bin Laden are real devils, dangerous, -.Saddam has started two wars unprovoked, gassed and killed thousands of his "own" people, and Osama and al-Qaeda are behind the 11 september 2001 terrorism etc. killing thousands of innocent workingclass people. Such persons and their organizations must be arrested one way or the other, before they manage to do more harm and Hitlerian type ruling, i.e. statism, capitalism and terrorism included - very significant. When we use the

term "devil" it is not indicating we have to do with demons or something like that, it is just a figurative or metaphorical expression of the mathematical figures for more than "2/3" or "666 per thousand" authoritarian degree, i.e. a clear non-humanist tendency, bestiality. Scientifically the mathematical expression of "more than 2/3 authoritarian degree" is perhaps the most objective and neutral term to avoid demonizing. Using a neutral, scientific term however doesn't make these authoritarian leaders and their organizations less dangerous.

Thus, say, punk-songs with artistical expressions ironically telling something else, i.e. falsely mixing up ochlarchy, chaos, antichrist and similar on the one hand - and anarchy, anarchists, etc. on the other, must of course never be taken seriously, but only as irony related to the authoritarian travesty of anarchy and anarchists. Thus anarchists, the Anarchist International and anarchism in general, strongly denounce chaos-punks and similar acting according to the authoritarian travesty of anarchy, anarchist and anarchism. Such behavior, or lack of it, has nothing to do with anarchy, anarchists, anarchism etc in real terms.

Anarchists want to change the world to be a better place to live in for the people, the working class and the grassroots as opposed to the authorities and upper classes, not to create hell on earth, i.e. more than 666 per thousand authoritarian degree. (Authorities and upper classes, if any, per definition in general have more freedom, power, wealth, richness and/or welfare than the people, the working class and the grassroots in a society - thus there is no need to worry over their well being....). The Anarchist International is principally a secular organization and network, we don't mix up religion with politics. The Anarchist International has also a manifesto against satanism, click on: <http://www.anarchy.no/notocsa.html>

To prevent "1984 newspeak" confusion and conceptual chaos, we will remind you of the following: Anarchy, anarchist, anarchism, etc, must not be mixed up with mystic and similar authoritarian tendencies. The international anarchist movement denounces this authoritarian mix, and of course doesn't accept the use of the word anarchist in this connection, which is disinformation. Notoriously authoritarian reporters, spokesmen, editors, etc., breaking the Oslo-convention of 1990 severely or several times, will receive a Brown card from the Anarchist Press Tribunal as a symbol of free criticism...

INTERNET ANARCHIST ?

The media often have put the label "anarchist" on Internet. As any communication network, such as phone, telefax, post, etc., it may be used for free communication without harming others freedom, i.e. anarchist; or the opposite, i.e. libel, defamation and other criminal behavior. Today Internet is far from anarchist, as far as we know. It is not organized according to anarchist principles, and a lot of the so called information about anarchy and anarchism is disinformation. Thus, it should not be called anarchist either. The international anarchist movement doesn't accept, and denounces, the use of the word anarchist in this connection, which is disinformation. Notoriously authoritarian reporters, spokesmen, etc, breaking the Oslo-convention of 1990 severely or

several times, will receive a Brown card from the Anarchist Press Tribunal as a symbol of free criticism...

ANARCHISM VS OCHLARCHY (MOB RULE) IN GENOA BROWN CARD TO BERLUSCONI, ETC.

ANARCHISTS AGAINST OCHLARCHY (MOB RULE) AND OCHLARCHIST INFILTRATION

We have seen enough of criminals, police provokers, mislead kids and others doing ochlarchy (mob rule) broadly defined, i.e. ochlarchists, infiltrating the anarchist movement, during the history, making trouble of various kinds for the anarchist movement and thus real progress in society. A firm stand against these ochlarchist infiltrators to the anarchist movement, being it police provokers, criminals and/or mislead kids or others, is a necessity for obvious reasons. The anarchist movement should of course not get mixed up with ochlarchists as we really have nothing to do with this sort of doings and persons.

This means among other things expulsion of the ochlarchist infiltrators from the anarchist movement, via the independent and autonomous International Anarchist Tribunal giving expelling Brown Cards in relevant cases, and followed up by expulsion of ochlarchists from anarchist arrangement as, say, congresses, demonstrations and actions, a.o.t. via internet, press releases and newsletters and websites.

It is extremely and especially important that the *official* anarchist websites, among others the APT-files, take a firm stand against the ochlarchist infiltrators to settle things right and show the media and the people in general where the anarchist movement *officially and generally* stands in this case, not to get mixed up with the ochlarchists, because that may be extremely harmful to our movement, regarding say recruitment, public relations and influence, as a movement mixed up with ochlarchy and ochlarchists will never be taken seriously as a political social movement of alternatives and improvements to the existing more or less bad, inefficient and unfair economical-political systems, it will only be seen as an even worse alternative.

Several media have called the riots and mob rule at the G8 and other "top-meetings" in Seattle, Prague, Gothenburg and Genoa, as well as at the May Day demonstrations in Berlin and London and similar events, for "anarchy", and also called the rioters "anarchists". Behind these riots are so called anti-capitalists, some marxist groups (as, say, the IS - International Socialists connected to the British Socialist Workers Party, Trotskyites and Maoists), some fascists (painting Jewish stars on the walls, national socialists, neonazis and fascists), criminals, and so called autonomous groups (marxists), punks and similar - sometimes in so called "Black Blocs/Blocks", highly hierarchical organizations on the streets, and sometimes misusing anarchist symbols, waving the black flag and painting the @-sign of anarchists. **These so called anarchists are inspired by the authoritarian travesty of anarchy as chaos, disorder and mob rule;** promoted, say, in the punk song "Anarchy in the UK" by the Sex Pistols - where "anarchy" is equal to chaos and **ochlarchy**, and "anarchist" is an

evil (Antichrist) destroyer, **and thus are not anarchists at all** according to the Oslo-convention. Anarchy, i.e. in short "no rule(r/rs)" is **not** ochlarchy, i.e. mob rule(r/rs). To take such "free" artistical expressions and metaphores of punk-rock groups as the Sex Pistols, only reflecting authoritarian travesties of anarchism, anarchist, and anarchy that you may find in almost any of the authoritie's and establishment's dictionaries, as a documentation on truth, and take it literally as a political program, i.e. just what a Swedish anarchist called "är ganska **pucko**", see <http://www.anarchy.no/astrid.html> . These "anti-"groups are all located from semi-libertarian marxism towards authoritarian socialism and fascism on the economic-political map, dependent on how ochlarchic and chaotic they are, and **none** of them are significant anarchist. **Generally speaking, persons who are so alienated that they identify with the authoritarian travesty of anarchy, anarchist and anarchism, have of course no connection to anarchy, anarchism or the anarchist movement. The basically marxist idea that the way from the present established more or less disorder, i.e. lack of freedom, equality, solidarity etc., in anarchist direction, i.e. towards a higher degree of social order, via mystical marxist dialectics can be reached by creating ochlarchy and chaos in the name of "anticapitalism etc.", is so morbid that it cannot be discussed seriously, just generally rejected. Generally speaking, to believe that creating chaos will in a mystical marxist dialectical way create order, is absurd. Ochlarchy is authoritarian and it contributes usually to even more authoritarina systems.**

And, generally speaking, a small group of "enlightened" persons, doing "liberating" terrorism or violent ochlarchy on behalf of a "highly alienated" people, who are not supposed to know their own good, are **highly authoritarian**, i.e. despite of what these "radicals" may call themselves. Such symbolic acts only make people more alienated, enforce the authoritarian travesty of anarchy, anarchism and anarchists, and contribute to more authoritarian societies, i.e. a higher degree of statism and/or capitalism. The authoritarian tactic of making chaos and ochlarchy, falsely renaming it anarchy, and (later) call for the "strong man" is well known. Thus, such acts is, and only contribute to, authoritarian changes in the socio-economical and/or -political/administrative structures, broadly defined. And thus, they are contra-revolutionary acts, contributing to authoritarian revolutionary changes, not anarchist revolutionary changes. It is not the outspoken aim that counts. **The real aim is the consequences of the use of the means involved**, not some ideological manifesto with good intentions. Aims in ideological manifestos may be "anticapitalist", "anti-imperialist", "antistatist", "antiglobalization" and similar with good intentions, but this is not relevant. The real aims are always the consequences of the means that are used, and nothing else. **What such small "anti-"group activities and symbolic acts are called, i.e.**

a) "anticapitalist", (a term mainly used by marxists, they are in a way opposed to capitalism, but not statism: Marxists will change the system to the left and downwards on the economical political map, while anarchists will move the system towards the middle and upwards. They have a communist ideal with no economical classes, but they do not account for classes of political/administrative rank. Although the marxists talk about an ideal with "no

State", this concept of state is defined in economic terms. Thus they agree on the principle "from each according to ability, to each according to needs" but still think about a centrally planned economy and a hierarchical party. This is just a political/administrative state in anarchist science.

Furthermore, in practice this centrally planned economy and party state will generate considerably income hierarchy, i.e. capitalist (plutarchist) tendencies. If the plutarchist tendencies according to nomenklatura and similar become the significant, the system will become fascist in real terms. Thus, it is neither unity of ideals, theoretically and practically, nor means to reach the aims, between marxists and anarchists. And thus, it exists no common "anticapitalist unity" as the marxists suggest. Anarchists prefer to talk about socialist and non-capitalist actions, to avoid getting mixed up with marxists. Furthermore, both socialism and autonomy should be taken into account in anarchist actions. The term "anti" is not an anarchist concept, it is typically the concept of marxist dialectics, i.e. "thesis, **anti**thesis, synthesis", a quasi-scientific "formula" with no scientific value. The dialectical idea that the "formulas", say, capitalism - "anticapitalism" - socialism, or statism - "antistatism" - autonomy, are valid, is far from the truth. In fact violent symbolic anti-capitalist and/or antistate actions usually will promote more statism and capitalism. Typically violent "class war" ochlarchy from commies and nazis before the 2nd World War in Germany, contributed to legitimate dictatorship. It would not have been much better if the commies had taken the dictatorship. Thus, anarchists prefer the concept "non", as in non-authoritarian, non-government, non-capitalist, non-statist, etc. The change of system in progress, anarchist, direction goes not dialectical via "anti-everything" and ochlarchy and chaos, this just leads to legitimate more authoritarian rule. It means just a small or larger change in the co-ordinates of the system, **all the time towards higher order**, more fairness and efficiency, and fulfillment of the other anarchist principles, less rank- and income-differences etc. i.e. **less** plutarchy, monarchy, oligarchy, polyarchy, ochlarchy and chaos, steady and with firmness. It may perhaps sometimes be tough, but significant ochlarchy, chaos and similar authoritarian tendencies, symbolic acts, and not organizational progressive change, should be avoided.

Anarchists also use the term "negation of", but never alone. The negational principles must always be seen together with the other anarchist principles, to get a meaningful concept, as, say, in the IFA-principles. There is however one exception, i.e. the principle of **antimilitarism**. This means only that if anarchists and the societies they live in are violently attacked by authoritarians, i.e. militarism broadly defined, then antimilitarist armed struggle may be introduced in selfdefence, proportional to what is necessary to achieve peace, but not more violent. In such cases the whole strategic picture must be taken into account, and the establishment of alliances with relatively democratic forces must be considered, to fight militarist ultra-authoritarians. In the Spanish civil war, the lack of sufficient alliances, resulted in a defeat for the relatively democratic and anarchist forces. The fascists and their allies won, also helped by Stalinist treason, and sat by power to the international megatrend towards less authoritarian societies put an end to fascism in Spain soon after the death of Franco. This is a lesson anarchists must never forget.),

b) "anti-imperialist" (imperialism is a marxist and obsolete concept with little or no relevance today. The British empire and Russian Soviet empire are no more existing, and USA have never been a significant colonial power. There are however supranational statism & capitalism, and multinational enterprises based on capitalism; these are anarchist concepts, and they must not be mixed up with the marxist concepts and theories, which are propaganda and statism ideology. The term "**anti-globalization**" is sometimes used in a same way as "anti-imperialism", only it is a more vague concept. Anarchists are internationalists and thus in a way for globalization, but against supranationalism and nationalism, anarchism is based on the countries world wide, i.e. the anarchist international is based on one federation in each countryl),

c) "**antigovernment**" (also sometimes called anti-authority or antiauthoritarian , i.e vague concepts, that can be used by **any** political group who are opposed to the established authorities, - marxist, fascist and liberalist included. Two groups of extreme liberalists may be mentioned allthough they were not active in Genoa and Gothenburg. One is the conservative blue&brown antigovernment tendency, mainly in the USA, with the late Oklahoma-bomber. Another is the extreme right blue&brown tendency, sometimes wrongly called "anarcho"-capitalists, with, say, the Swedish Olympian-bomber. They are opposed to the political-administrative state in a way, especially the established central administration, but often mix up government with public sector, and do not account for plutarchy and economical hierarchies in general. Thus, they are not anarchists. And, thus, it exists no "antigovernment unity". It may also be mentioned that Bakunin's faction in the 1st International at first used the vague term antiauthoritarian, but later changed the name to anarchists, similar to P. J. Proudhon, to avoid misunderstandings),

d)"**class war**" (another typical marxist concept, used by, say, RAF (Baader-Meinhof) in Germany and BR in Italy. In fact it exists at least seven significant social classes of rank and income, not two, i.e. the division in "people" and "authorities" are a simplification. The "people" defined as the persons with relatively lowest rank and income are usually only a small part of the population, sometimes called the **marginalized**. As a small group of the people broadly defined, this group must appeal to the solidarity of the rest of the people, to get better off. They usually do not have the recourses to free themselves alone. Hard and violent actions will usually only increase the coercion and marginalization. The people broadly defined, as a probable clear majority of the population, includes both the **low** and **middle income classes**, as well as the **autonomous** class of rank, i.e. selfemployed on individual and co-operative basis and relatively independent and educated consultants and similar functionaries in the hierarchic enterprises without subordinates, and a relatively free position vis-à-vis the superiors, in public and private sector, and the "**bottom line**" skilled and non-skilled workers, houseworkers, and lower functionaries in the hierarchic enterprises in private and public sector. Furthermore the unemployed, persons with disability and partial incapacity, old, sick, students and political prisoners, are among the people.

The **authorities** are the relatively rich (**plutarchists**) and the **political/administrative rulers**, the top and lower commanding officers within the hierarchical enterprises in public and private sector, criminal (mafia,

ochlarchists, terrorists etc.) or not, i.e. to put it simple, the bureaucracy economically and/or political/administratively broadly defined. Some of these non criminal, may be **idealists** and be solidaric with the people, and thus in a way, at least ideologically, also be a part of the people, not the upper classes. The anarchist prince, Pjotr Kropotkin, is a well known example of an idealist. Some of the people may be solidaric with the upper classes, say, perhaps in the purpose of climbing in the hierarchies, and thus be among the ramifications of the bureaucracy. Thus, there are rarely a unity between the people. The classes of the people have different interests, both seen as classes and as individual members of the classes. Many people love their leaders, or look at them as a **necessary** more or less evil. The relations between the classes, and the people broadly defined vis-à-vis the upper classes, may have a structural form of hard repression, less repression, and elements of co-operation with more or less coercion. Thus, the hierarchy (if any) may be organized more or less from the bottom upwards, or from the top to the bottom.

A class-analysis must also take into account these **relations** between the classes, not only the class structure in a narrow sence. Thus a given hierarchy may also be more or less authoritarian, dependent on how authoritarian the relations between the classes and the persons are. And thus, performance must be included in the concept of structure. These relations of performance may be from ultra to less authoritarian to more or less co-operative, with small rank and/or income differences, i.e. the system may work more or less from the bottom and upwards, or the opposite, from the top towards the bottom. Thus, there are two ways of making the system less authoritarian, 1. To change the hierarchy economical and/or political/administrative, in horizontal direction. 2. To change the relations between the people within a given hierarchy, in horizontal direction, i.e. less authoritarian. The anarchist ideal has 100% horizontal organization, i.e. 100% socialism and autonomy, no hierarchy, and no authoritarian relations between people, and no authorities political/administrative and economically, and no disorganization.

Furthermore a revolutionary **change in anarchist direction** is about changing the social structures of positions and organization towards more socialism and autonomy, less rank and income differences, more efficiency and fairness, and taking into account the IFA-principles, the Oslo-Convention and anarchist human rights, i.e. significant. It is not about liquidating the persons in the upper classes. Thus the term "class war" is quite misleading. And generally speaking, the more civil war, the less revolution in a progressive way. Street ochlarchy is not anarchist. A self styled "class war", introduced by a small group "on behalf of the people or the masses" is, as mentioned above, authoritarian and not anarchist. Anarchists use the word "fight", sometimes "struggle", but not "class war", and they are fighting for changing the economical and political/administrative organization, the structure of positions and relations, not against persons and other resources. A selfstyled, private war against the symbols of the system, typically in a way that people in general don't want - often because they know this will legitimate more authoritarian rule, is thus a hopeless task, and has nothing to do with working class struggle. Anarchists are peaceloving people, principally neither pacifists nor terrorists. Violence is an

evil, and should be used as little as possible. **A violent, ochlarchical society is not anarchist.**

To "remove the boss" is usually not doing very much good. Without changing the organizational structure in horizontal direction, the old boss will just be replaced by a new one, and often even more authoritarian, especially if the first one is removed with violence. See also http://www.anarchy.no/a_e_p_m.html and search for "fog" og "wannabe" to understand what "fog-arch" and "wannebe libertarian" mean in this context. Working class struggle is really only about changing the social organization in libertarian direction, and that can only be done by changing the de facto organizations, not by attacking symbols of the system and destruction of valuable resources. There is very little social organization in the street, except traffic, so to think streetfighting and destruction of buildings will change the social organization is quite stupid. Social organization is mainly at the workplaces, housing, culture and the political organizations and system, not in the streets. The only social organization in the streets of interest, is some of the traffic system, and it is not possibly to improve that in a progressive direction by street fighting. In fact streetfighting is bad for the traffic, and the traffic system is a political question. It is not decided in the stree, but on the political arenas. The purpose of a street demonstration is influence on the system in a progressive direction. The politicians however are not very impressed by ochlarchy and chaos, but in loss and gain of votes around the elections, popularity in the polls, etc. Small groups doing private ochlarchical "war" on the symbols of the system is thus not doing "class war" and "class struggle" as they may believe themselves in their twisted minds, just doing ordinary petty crimes making a chaos and ochlarchy that most of the people are not interested to have. Some people with humor have called the State, i.e. authorities, the "ass". Then such small false "class war" ochlarchy groups are just "pimples on this ass", and if being terroristical and worse, they are just "assholes", real political brownies.

e) **"quasi-political hooligans"** (These are marxistoid, fascistoid and other capitalist groups and individuals doing ochlarchy, chaos and/or theft, and thus are located below the 67% authoritarian degree on the economical-political map).

f) **or similar**, - may all be considered "anticapitalist" and/or "antistatist", i.e. opposed to the **established** government, political/administrative and/or economically, in a way. **But they have nothing to do with anarchy, anarchist(s) and anarchism, i.e. whatever they may be called, it doesn't matter:**

The **fight** for **anarchist revolutionary changes**, i.e. significant changes in **the social organization** mainly of the political/administrative rank and the economical remuneration systems and structures in the society; significant changes of the coordinates of the system on the economical political map in progressive anarchist direction, i.e. towards both more socialism and autonomy, via, say,

i) direct democratic actions of different kinds, ii) making co-operatives and similar, iii) actions at the place of work and even general strikes, iv) anarchist media and federation work, and v) other non-authoritarian acts, also including of course demonstrations in the streets and in front of embassies, however not

ochlarchic and chaotic, and with clearly anarchist aims. International anarchists have a lot of experience of liberalist, marxist and fascist infiltration, punks and quasi-political hooligans included, in **anarchist** actions, but have so far managed to keep them out, calm, or at least not significant. These actions (i-v), are **quite the opposite of symbolic violent ochlarchic and/or terrorist attacks** on people, buildings, machinery and similar. These resources should be allocated in a more progressive, anarchist, way, not be destroyed. **Thus, anarchy, anarchist and anarchism are not about destructive "anticapitalism" or "antistatism" and similar, but constructive work for more socialism and autonomy. To misuse anarchist symbols, and put up a vague protest against "state" and "capitalism" on a banner, has not anything to do with the fight for anarchism, anarchy and anarchist tendencies, i.e. changing the social organization in anarchist direction.** These are the lessons of the Gothenburg, Genoa and similar events, and all of the experience from the fight for anarchism. (And these lessons are even clearer when we look to the aeroplane crash-bombings against the World Trade Center ("capitalism") and Pentagon ("state") in America.) **The anarchist movement must never contribute to such violent symbolic acts. If anarchists do violent symbolic acts and terrorism, they will cease to be anarchists, i.e. they will be something else - authoritarians, and thus they become marxists, fascists or liberalists.**

Ochlarchy (mob rule) is not anarchy (without rule(r(s))), and mob rulers (i.e. authoritarians) are not anarchists. Thus, **The International Anarchist Tribunal** issues a **Brown Card** to these "autonomous anarchists" and similar, **and** to media calling them anarchists, and the riots and mob rule for anarchy. These so called autonomous groups and similar - authoritarians and "useful" idiots of authoritarians, - are not a part of the international anarchist movement, and the press should not call them so either. This Brown Card also goes to the British PM Mr Blair who blamed an "anarchists' travelling circus" for the violence. At the same moment the IAT gives a **Black * Star** to the media and governments that did not try to put the blame of the ochlarchy and chaos on anarchists and anarchism. Also the police contributed to the ochlarchy by violating human rights. They are getting a special **Brown Card**. A **very special dark Brown Card** goes to some cops in Genoa for killing one demonstrant in an ochlarchic way, and singing fascist songs. This killed demonstrant, **Carlo Giuliani**, was **not** an anarchist. By the way, not all punks are authoritarian and ochlarchic! We remember the Norwegian satirical punk song "Feit Føderal Pønk" (Fat federal punk) released on the anarchist @-label in 1979, and played, say, a lot on French anarchist radio (Radio Libertaire) early in the 1980-ies, which promoted real anarchy. Don't forget the Oslo-Convention about anarchy vs chaos. 14.12.2001: Some marxist "autonomous" groups have misused the black flag, traditionally used by some anarchists, in ochlarchical "anticapitalist" and "antiglobalisation" demonstrations, the first violent protests in EU since 11 September 2001. These fake "anarchist" groups and the newsmedia calling them "anarchists" have got a Brown Card from the IAT. Ochlarchy is not anarchy and ochlarchists are not anarchists. The Brown Cards of course also means expulsion of the ochlarchist infiltrators, fake "anarchist" groups, from the anarchist movement.

A special Brown Card goes to Silvio Berlusconi, for severely breaking the Oslo Convention related to a police provocation at the G8 demonstrations. Italian police planted two Molotov cocktails in a school where protesters were sleeping to justify a brutal crackdown during last year's G8 summit in Genoa (2001). A policeman has confessed that he planted the explosives following a year of acrimony over the handling of security at the summit where a protester was shot dead by the police. "I brought the Molotov cocktail to the Diaz school. I obeyed the order of one of my superiors," the 25-year-old unnamed officer told prosecutors investigating the summit. The Molotov cocktails were planted in the school to justify the police raids on the school, he said. His superior, Pietro Troiani, from a mobile police unit in Rome, is already being investigated after another colleague accused him of providing false information to justify the raids.

At the time, the Italian Prime Minister, Silvio Berlusconi, insisted that the raids proved that the school held violent anarchists who had wrecked the city. The presence of Molotov cocktails has been held up by the police as justification for their raids on the school. They were shown off to journalists along with a nail bomb, two sledge-hammers and a pickaxe, also said to have been gathered at the scene. The protesters who stayed at the school insisted that they were not involved in the violence which marred the summit. Ninety-three demonstrators were arrested during the raids on the Armando Diaz school on 21 July last year. Sixty-three of them reported serious injuries. Protesters have claimed that they were beaten unconscious by police, deprived of sleep, sexually harassed and denied prompt medical treatment. There is some confusion about the planting of the petrol bombs. Last week another policeman said that he had seen Mr Troiani bringing the explosives into the school wrapped in plastic. But video footage shot by protesters appears to contradict this, apparently showing a group of police officers holding the Molotov cocktails before the raid without the plastic.

The government has defended the police action in the face of widespread criticism and an admission by the Genoa police chief that his officers used "excessive force". It has accused prosecutors investigating the police of bias towards the protesters. The Italian opposition has accused Mr Berlusconi's conservative government of "zero tolerance" towards the protest movement against the G8-meeting. Police were drafted in from around the country for the summit for which 250,000 protesters flocked to the city. Seventy seven officers are under investigation, including the policeman who shot dead a protester, but no one has lost their job. Amnesty International has condemned the lack of action by the government to bring the police to justice, pointing out that many incidents were caught on camera and were "undeniable". The organisation has accused the police of "arbitrary arrest and the use of torture and ill-treatment". There have been allegations that the police were well warned about the presence of specific violent elements among protesters but that these warnings were repeatedly ignored, leading to speculation that this was to allow officers free rein for violence.

There are now at least 10 criminal investigations into what happened in Genoa. Magistrates have notified about 80 officers that they are being investigated for alleged crimes committed during the school raid, the street protests and at the

Bolzaneto detention centre where, Amnesty International claims, about 200 protesters were tortured. Protesters have alleged that the police action was sanctioned by politicians and they have called upon the Deputy Prime Minister, Gianfranco Fini, of the National Alliance Party, to resign. (Source: Jessie Grimond in Rome - The Independent (GB) 30 July 2002). These Molotov cocktails are however only a tip of the iceberg. FAI/IFA and CNT/AIT have reported to the IAT etc **about ca 500 neonazis collaborating with the Italian police and forming a so called Black Bloc making violent ochlarchy and riots and put the blame on anarchists. The purpose is of course the usual authoritarian trick, make chaos and ochlarchy, falsely rename it 'anarchy', put the blame on anarchists - throw shit on the idea of freedom an anarchism in general, make people afraid, and call for the 'strong man', arch and 'strong rule', making way for populism and fascism (or other authoritarian rule). That such a political system will only make more ochlarchy, repression and slavery for the people as opposed to the authorities and upper classes, people may easy forget. When people eventually understand that they are fooled - it may be too late... As we have said several times before, the anarchists had nothing to do with the violent ochlarchy, i.e. chaos, riots and looting in Genoa at the G8-event, and ochlarchy there and in general is quite the opposite of anarchy and anarchism. The Brown Cards of course also means expulsion of the ochlarchist infiltrators from the anarchist movement.**

P.S. There have been a few similar riots also after the 11.09.2001 terrorist event in USA, mainly in Barcelona, see <http://www.anarchy.no/ija431.html> and search for Spain. However there were not so much mixes of anarchism and anarchy with ochlarchy there and in the media. This is possibly a general trend related to 11.09 terrorist attacks, perhaps also a little bit as a result of the work at the IAT and the AIE, etc. However at May Day 2002, things are more back to "normal" again. "German, Australian and London, etc., "anarchists" are not anarchists, but ochlarchists, chaotic punks and similar type "national-anarchists", "anarcho-bolsheviks", marxist-lubbeists, supporters of RAF/Baader-Meinhof respectively IRA, or trotskyites posing as "anarchists", also marxian Industrial-WW members and their collaborationists, etc.," an IAT spokesman says. "None of these groups are anarchists, i.e. libertarian/libertaire." BBC and Euronews are mixing such authoritarian, ochlarchist groups with anarchists and anarchist protest several times, and get a Brown Card.

No anarchistgroup behind violent G8 demonstrations. BROWN CARD

No anarchistgroup behind violent anti-globalisation demonstrations and looting, i.e. ochlarchy (mob rule), in the Swiss Confederation and France related to the G8 meeting in Evian 01-03.06.2003! These acts of ochlarchy are done by ochlarchists, not anarchists although anarchists were blamed for much of the violence by international media. Ochlarchists posing as 'anarchist youths' are not anarchists but simply ochlarchists, the opposite of anarchists. The IAT gives a Brown Card to these groups of ochlarchists and the newsmedia spreading disinformation, mixing them up with anarchists. The Brown Card of

course also means expulsion of the ochlarchist infiltrators from the anarchist movement.

No anarchists behind violent EU demonstrations in the Greek resort of Porto Carras. BROWN CARD

There are no anarchists behind violent EU demonstrations in the Greek resort of Porto Carras (20.06.2003), i.e. ochlarchy (mob rule)! These acts of ochlarchy are done by ochlarchists, not anarchists although "anarchists" were blamed for much of the violence by international media. Ochlarchists posing as 'anarchist youths' are not anarchists but simply ochlarchists, the opposite of anarchists. The IAT gives a Brown Card to these groups of ochlarchists and the newsmedia spreading disinformation, mixing them up with anarchists. See also Brown Card to Berlusconi above... The Brown Card of course also means expulsion of the ochlarchist infiltrators from the anarchist movement.

ANARCHY VS OCHLARCHY AND TERRORISM

A **Dark Brown Card** goes to mulla Mohammad Omar, the Taleban leader, speaking on Kabul Radio Sunday 30.09.2001, afraid of the UN-USA actions against terrorism, talking about: "The government will perhaps brake down... It is easy to create anarchy, but to introduce law an order is a difficult task." To create anarchy is not easy, and it is the highest form of social order. Omar uses the word anarchy, morbid, according to the authoritarian travesty of the concept. This is of no surprise to the IAT, because the Taleban rule is one of the most authoritarian and chaotic governments on planet earth, with no real law an order and no anarchist human rights, no efficiency and fairness, no socialism and autonomy, large income and rank differences, and no fulfilment of the IFA-IAF principles, and defending the ultra-authoritarian bin-Laden terrorist polyarchical and ochlarchical network. This marxistoid/fascistoid government is so authoritarian that it doesn't even deserve the word government, it is only evil chaos, and a travesty even of muslim, fundamentalist hierarchy...

The suicide attacks against civilian people of the World Trade Center and Pentagon are much worse than the fascist Kamikaze attacks on military targets in the second world war. This is extreme terrorism plus "Kinder, Kirche (Mosque), Küche and Gott (Allah) mit uns". Furthermore bin-Laden has more than 40 children. If this is going to be the main tendency among muslim fundamentalists, they are going to need at a lot of "lebensraum" similar to Hitler & Co. This is not only fascism, but ultra fascism. This Brown Card also goes to the state channel Kabul Radio, and to all the media spreading this disinformation world wide.

The same Brown Card also goes to the dictator of Pakistan, warning about introduction of "anarchy" from the Northern Alliance, obviously meaning chaos etc., mentioned, say, on the CNN Monday 09.10.2001. Authoritarians always warn about "anarchy", i.e the travesty of anarchy in the meaning of ochlarchy and chaos, when their authority is questioned. They will not admit the fact that management may well be done without archi-, i.e. based on co-operation without coercion on equal footing, horizontal organization, **practically or ideally**, without ochlarchy and chaos, economically as well as political/administrative, i.e. **anarchy**. The authorities, i.e. in monarchy, oligarchy, polyarchy, plutarchy and similar, always say: "Without us the only

alternative will be anarchy", in the (false) meaning of chaos, but that is wrong. Chaos is similar to ochlarchy, etc, that's not anarchy.

When the Northern Alliance ruled the country before the Taleban, the system was polyarchy and ochlarchy in a state of more or less civil war and chaos, i.e. also a system below 67% authoritarian degree on the economical political map, and thus far from anarchy and anarchism. There have never been anything close to anarchy in the realm of Afghanistan in modern times, just chaotic and very authoritarian rule. A similar mix of anarchy with polyarchical and ochlarchical chaos, is presented by professor Patricia Grossman and a representant of the Afghan embassy in London at CNN 17.10.2001. At least the CNN and the professor should have known better. Thus, they may share the Brown Card with the Pakistanian and Taleban authorities. A **second** brown card goes to the Pakistanian authorities, who say they fear "anarchy", in the wrong meaning of chaos, related to the Northern Alliance's rule in Kabul, to the Norwegian State councillor of the Aid Department 15.11.2001. One Brown card goes to Paul Harris in Chaman and The Observer (Sunday December 2, 2001) because they, in an article about anti-Taleban "*Warlords bring new terrors*" state that, "*Among the refugees fleeing the anarchy, the US has few friends*". The last part is probably true, but if it was real anarchy - and not rule by terror in this part of Afghanistan, they would probably stayed. 14.04.2002: Peter Hjukström at Agenda Swedish TV2 is mixing up anarchy and chaos in Afghanistan, and both get a Brown Card.

When the Taleban rule ends, an UN-administration together with the different factions in Afghanistan, in a confederalist solution similar to Bosnia, should perhaps be introduced to avoid more polyarchy, ochlarchy and chaos. However, although the system will be less authoritarian than today or before, it will still probably be far from anarchy and the anarchist quadrant on the economical political map, and be relatively authoritarian. This over-populated country will, including a necessary decline in the population, have a long way to go before it reach anything close to anarchy, with an approximately optimal size of the population (bin-Laden has more than 40 children, a very bad example), efficiency and fairness, socialism and autonomy, small rank and income differences, and a reasonable fulfilment of the IFA/IAF-principles, anarchist human rights and ethics, the Oslo-convention, etc. A confederalist solution could perhaps also be used in the Middle East, but with two separate countries.

"Taliban and Qaeda Believed Plotting Within Pakistan" a headline declares in an article by JAMES DAO, AGRAM AIR BASE, Afghanistan, May 27, printed in NY-Times 28.05.2002 — "Virtually the entire senior leadership of Al Qaeda and the Taliban have been driven out of eastern Afghanistan and are now operating with as many as 1,000 non-Afghan fighters in the anarchic tribal areas of western Pakistan, the commander of American-led forces in Afghanistan said today. The commander, Maj. Gen. Franklin L. Hagenbeck, said in an interview that intelligence reports indicated that the Qaeda and Taliban leaders now in Pakistan were plotting terrorist attacks, including car and suicide bombings, to disrupt the selection of a new national government in Kabul next month." "We here may see a slight tendency to put the blame on anarchic, i.e. anarchist tendencies, to cover up for own incompetence of mr Hagenbeck by not having achieved to fight down and arrest bin-Laden and the other al-Qaeda authorities.

This indicates a break of the Oslo Convention. The tribal areas may perhaps be semi-autonomous in a way as Hagenbeck says in the interview, but they are not anarchic, but mainly muslim fundamentalist polyarchical, ruled by hierarchical tribal organizations. Also the Oklahoma-bombers were "anti-government", but not anarchic, i.e. anarchist. Thus, even the mentioned tribal areas are opposed to the Kabul-regime, they are in no significant way anarchic. However it is difficult to say if it is just the reporter James Dao and NY Times or Franklin Hagenbeck himself, that is responsible for this mix of anarchist and authoritarian tendencies by reading the article, so we only give a Brown Card warning in this case," the Anarchist Press Tribunal of IAT says.

A similar mix of anarchy with the polyarchical, ochlarchical chaos, rivaling "states within state", and terrorism in Arafat's PLO-state have been done by several newsmedia. The Palestinians are certainly not without rulers. And Shimon Peres in VG 03.11.2001 **is FALSELY PUTTING THE BLAME OF THE TERRORISM ON "ANARCHISTS"**: *"Til nå har terror sett ut til å være våpenet for de fattige, de bitre, de fanatiske, som lever i gårsdagens verden. Den er blitt et meget farlig instrument, fordi moderne våpen, så vel som sivile fly, er kommet i hendene på anarkister;" i.e. "...terror... has become... very dangerous ... because modern weapons, as well as civilian airplanes, have come in the hands of anarchists".* This is a severe contravention of the Oslo Convention of 1990. The anarchists have nothing to do with the terrorism whatsoever. This is similar to another big socialdemocratic liar, Willy Brandt, calling the Marxist-Leninist (Maoist) RAF (Baader Meinhof) "anarchists" in a radio speech in Germany June 1972, and continuing the falsehoods in a letter to Augustin Souchy of 7th July 1972. These socialdemocratic liars, receiving the Nobel Peace Prize in 1994 and 1971 respectively, have thrown shame on the Peace Prize by spreading these horrible falsehoods, and have broken the Oslo Convention severely, and thus may share this Brown Card, together with the newsmedia calling Arafat's authoritarian PLO-state "anarchy". The verdict was unanimously decided upon. Don't forget the Oslo Convention.

01.04.2002: The Palestinian terrorism from Hamas and other Jihad groups, probably supported by Arafat, plus "Kinder, Kirche (Mosque), Küche and Gott (Allah) mit uns", drive the Jews on the ocean, lack of birthcontrol, overpopulation and muslim fundamentalist brainwash, plus a dash of marxism, indicating more "lebensraum" similar to Hitler & Co and al-Qaeda policy, i.e. oligarchy, polyarchy, ochlarchy including terrorism, rivaling "states within the state", in short **chaos** - in the PLO-state of Arafat and around it, have nothing to do with anarchy, anarchist or anarchism, see the Oslo-convention of 1990, etc. The Red Cross is correctly complaining about the Israeli troops are harming the aid-work in Palestine. In this connection the Norwegian marxist president of Red Cross, **Jan Egeland**, says to NRK he fears **complete "anarchy and lawlessness" in Palestine, clearly meaning chaos and thus breaking the Oslo convention of 1990. This is a serious mix of anarchy and chaos, and then both he and NRK get a Brown Card from the IAT.**

The Norwegian marxist leftists within both the Labor Party, as, say, B. Froyn and The Socialist Left party, SV; the stalinists, maoists and trotskyites in RV, AKP (ml) and NKP, etc. have all the time since the 1970s supported the Palestinian terrorists/PLO-state of Arafat. A spokesman for the Arabs, A. B. Atwan on CNN , also talks about "anarchy" in the Mid East, certainly meaning chaos, 02.04.2002. However people that don't think the suicide jihad-bombers are terrorists don't have much defamatory power, so the IAT just gives a Brown Card warning in this case. 07.04.2002. NRK has last week several times sent an interview with the deputy boss follower of the ultra-authoritarian marxist Johan "Crackpot" Galtung at the "peace research institute PRIO" in Oslo, Hilde Henriksen Waage, stating loud and clear that the situation in Palestine is **"anarchy and chaos"**, a bit similar to the Red Cross marxist Egeland above. Her analysis in general are also pseudoscientifical, a mix of facts and not facts and what she "feels", as she says to NRK, ca 100% biased pro Arafat. Both NRK and PRIO researchers have got several brown cards and warnings for breaking the Oslo convention in the terrorist and chaos connection before. Now they may share another one. "Klassekampen" reports 10.04.2002 that H. H. Waage has received a lot of "fan" mail from neonazis lately. No surprise to the IAT!

01.07.2002: The Palestinian Authority has reacted angrily after US Secretary of State Colin Powell said Washington would no longer deal with Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat. Palestinian officials said sidelining Mr Arafat would lead to "anarchy" and violence, probably meaning violent mob rule and terrorism, i.e. ochlarchy broadly defined, and called on Palestinians not to meet Israeli or American delegations in response. "The American administration's policy is... entirely short-sighted, undemocratic and counter-productive," said Hanan Ashrawi, Palestinian Legislative Council. But thousands of Palestinians who took to the streets in Gaza to protest against high levels of unemployment they say is caused by Israel's policies also turned their anger on the Palestinian Authority. Speaking on US television on Sunday, Mr Powell said the US had no plans to speak to Mr Arafat either now or in the future (BBC). 02.07.2002: "This false mixing up of "anarchy" with violent ochlarchy, mob rule, is a serious break of the Oslo Convention, and thus the Palestine authority gets a Brown Card," IAT declares (also giving BBC a Brown Card warning).

16.11.2004: After Arafat's death the New York Times reports: Mr. Abbas escaped unharmed when two Palestinian security officers were killed in a burst of gunfire at a memorial service for Mr. Arafat. Mr. Abbas does not appear to have been a target of the shooting. Palestinians said the clash occurred between supporters of rival Fatah leaders in Gaza: Muhammad Dahlan, an ally of Mr. Abbas, and Ahmed Helis, an Arafat loyalist and the head of a powerful family here. "It shows the anarchy that has been building here," said Salah Abdel Shafi, a political analyst. "And people are very, very tense. The people who have been loyal to Arafat are very worried." Both New York Times and Salah Abdel Shafi get a Brown Card for mixing up "anarchy" with rivaling polyarchy, ochlarchy, terrorism and chaos.

15.07.2005: Several newsmedia and Abbas wrongly have called the present ochlarchy (mob rule broadly defined, including rivaling states within the state, i.e. chaos) in Palestine for "anarchy" , breaking the Oslo Convention and thus get a Brown Card. 06.01.2006: Several newsmedia wrongly have called the

present ochlarchy (mob rule broadly defined, including lawlessness and rivaling states within the state, i.e. chaos) in Gaza (Palestine) for "anarchy", breaking the Oslo Convention and thus get a Brown Card. Anarchy and anarchism mean "system and management without ruler(s), i.e. co-operation without repression, tyranny and slavery". Anarchy and anarchism are coordination on equal footing, without superiors and subordinates, i.e. horizontal organization and co-operation without coercion. This means practically or ideally, i.e. ordinary vs perfect horizontal organization respectively. Thus, anarchy and anarchism mean **real democracy**, economical and political/administrative, in private and public sector, not ochlarchy, mob rule broadly defined.

CHAOS AND OCHLARCHY IN ARGENTINA - NOT ANARCHY - BROWN CARDS TO DUHALDE, BBC AND LA PRENSA

20.12.2002: BROWN CARD WARNING FROM IAT-APT: Some of the international newsmedia have called the present riots and ochlarchical situation in Argentina "anarchy", or close to "anarchy". This polyarchical, chaotic situation has however more than 67% authoritarian degree on the Economical Political Map, and thus far from anarchy, i.e. less than 50% authoritarian degree. The International Anarchist Tribunal reacts immediately to this authoritarian mix of anarchy and chaos. Anyone who calls this chaotic situation "anarchy" may receive a Brown Card from the tribunal. A chaotic mix of polyarchy, ochlarchy and plutarchy, rivaling "states within the state" have nothing to do with anarchy or anarchism.

04.01.2002: **BBC** calls the ochlarchy and chaos in Argentina "anarchy", and thus gets the first "**Brown Card**" from IAT in this case.

16.01.2002 BBC reports about Duhalde calling the populists' selfmade economical chaos "anarchy", indirectly calling for an "arch", i.e. strong rule and dictatorship, and **Duhalde gets a Brown Card from the IAT, together with BBC**, which joins in this false song. BBC says Argentina is on "the brink of anarchy". The fact is that it has never been more far from anarchy since the "dirty war". The media should stop making such disinformation. Call it what it is, i.e. an authoritarian populist chaos and ochlarchy, etc., not anarchy, which is the quite opposite.

16-7.02.2002 **Brown Card to La Prensa in Argentina** from IAT:16-7.02.2002. The International Anarchist Tribunal - The Anarchist Press Tribunal - International Branch, shows the Argentinian newspaper "La Prensa" the Brown Card for mixing up anarchy and ochlarchy (mob rule) in Argentina, **wrongly** calling the trace of mob rule for "Postcard of Anarchy", i.e. *"Postal de la anarquía : Con martillos y herramientas, ahorristas enfurecidos procuraron abatir las gruesas defensas de la Casa Central del Citibank, en la City. Los desocupados cortaron calles en el Gran Buenos Aires y en el interior. En Santa Fe invadieron la sede municipal. En Dock Sud fue liberado el acceso a la planta del Polo Petroquímico, impedido por piqueteros y que amenazaba el suministro de combustible a las estaciones de servicio."* **Mob rule(rs) - ochlarchy - is quite the opposite of anarchy - (management) without rule(rs).** Newspapers etc. spreading such authoritarian disinformation, in a severe case or several times, get the Brown Card, according to the Oslo Convention of 1990.

The authoritarian, brown, strategy of making chaos, falsely rename it anarchy and call for the arch, "the strong man", is well known. Anarchists won't have any of that! 17.04.2002 "Planned strikes this week -- including drivers of the armored vans that provide banks with cash -- show how difficult it will be for Duhalde to make Argentines accept more austerity after a long recession that has helped make one in two Argentines live in poverty on a few dollars a day. Duhalde, in power for just over three months but already in the low double digits in approval ratings, himself was in no doubt of the costs involved. "There will be social upheaval, of course there will be," **Duhalde, who has been accused of using fears of anarchy (obviously meaning chaos) to keep himself in office, told local radio. The IAT will have something to say in this case and gives Duhalde a Brown Card warning 18.04.2002.**

G8: Hard core "anarchists" = ochlarchists, getting the Brown Card

Thousands of protesters are set to take part in a Make Poverty History march in Edinburgh, as musicians perform in Live 8 concerts around the globe (02.07.2005). Police believe up to 120,000 people could join the march, aiming to press home their message to G8 leaders. Saturday's march is one of a number of events planned in the run-up to Wednesday's G8 summit at Gleneagles, when campaigners hope world leaders will make a commitment to tackle poverty in Africa. The events also coincide with the series of Live 8 concerts being held on Saturday in cities around the world, including London. The concerts will span nearly 24 hours, with the first having started in Tokyo at 0600 BST. Organised by Live Aid founder Bob Geldof, they will call for more aid for Africa, debt cancellation and fairer trade. People on the Edinburgh march have been urged to wear white. Five cranes have been constructed along the south end of The Meadows, which will be used to display a giant banner bearing the message "Make Poverty History". Marchers will leave the rally in The Meadows at intervals from 1200 BST, with the aim of forming a human chain around central Edinburgh. Donald Anderson, the leader of Edinburgh City Council, believes it will probably be the biggest protest Scotland has ever seen. He said: "We know there are going to be other demos over the weekend and on Monday, and that builds up to the concert at Murrayfield on Wednesday. On Sunday, an Anti-War Coalition demonstration will take place in the city, followed by the Carnival for Full Enjoyment on Monday, etc. This is giving us concern because of reports that **hard-core "anarchists"** will use these events to cause trouble. **These so called "anarchists" are not anarchists, i.e. libertarian, but authoritarian ochlarchists (ochlarchy = mob rule broadly defined). These ochlarchist infiltrators to the anarchist movement get a Brown Card marking that they are expelled and banned from the anarchist movement. We welcome all people who wish to take part in the demonstrations, but will not tolerate anti-social behaviour or criminal disorder, i.e. breaking the Oslo Convention, defining anarchist vs authoritarian tendencies. Political extremism is not tolerated. Authoritarian socialists are marxists, not anarchists, on the economic-political map.**

MAY DAY OCHLARCHY IS NOT ANARCHIST

Leftist ochlarchists making ochlarchy (mob rule) in Germany (Berlin), Sweden (Stockholm), UK (London) etc. on May Day 2003 are not anarchists.

IAT-APT gives a Brown Card warning to the media and the ochlarchists for breaking the Oslo convention, see (click on) <http://www.anarchy.no/oslo.html> .

Anarchists demonstrate with dignity, not ochlarchy (mob rule). Other political tendencies, leftists and rightists demonstrate with ochlarchy in this case. Anarchists are in the middle, and are neither leftists nor rightists on the economical political map. Some chaos-punks and council commies & marxist-lubbeist leftists, also called "the children of Marx", sometimes are doing ochlarchy and some of them may be posing as anarchists, but they are not anarchists and the media should stop mixing them up with anarchists. Ochlarchy and anarchy, ochlarchists and anarchists, are opposite cases and should never be mixed up. **MAY DAY OCHLARCHY IS NOT ANARCHIST. See also "Brown Card to Berlusconi etc." above.**

Leftist ochlarchists making ochlarchy (mob rule) in Germany (Berlin) and Ireland (Dublin) etc. on May Day 2004 are not anarchists.

IAT-APT gives a Brown Card warning to the media and the ochlarchists for breaking the Oslo convention, see (click on) <http://www.anarchy.no/oslo.html> .

Anarchists demonstrate with dignity, not ochlarchy (mob rule). Other political tendencies, leftists and rightists demonstrate with ochlarchy in this case. Anarchists are in the middle, and are neither leftists nor rightists on the economical political map. Some chaos-punks and council commies & marxist-lubbeist leftists, also called "the children of Marx", sometimes are doing ochlarchy and some of them may be posing as anarchists and wrongly using anarchist flags, but they are not anarchists and the media should stop mixing them up with anarchists. Ochlarchy and anarchy, ochlarchists and anarchists, are opposite cases and should never be mixed up. **MAY DAY OCHLARCHY IS NOT ANARCHIST.**

OCHLARCHY - NOT ANARCHY, IN NEW ORLEANS, USA

Crackdown in fearful New Orleans. US troops, armed with a shoot- to-kill policy, are being sent to New Orleans to quell growing lawlessness, four days after Hurricane Katrina hit. "Anarchy" has spread through the city, where thousands of people are stranded with no food or water, in increasing desperation and fear, BBC reports. The situation in New Orleans is however ochlarchy (mob rule broadly defined) included lawlessness, i.e. authoritarian, the opposite of anarchy. BBC and other newsmedia get a Brown Card for mixing up anarchy with ochlarchy, and thus breaking the Oslo Convention.

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ANARCHISM AND THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

ANARCHIST INTRODUCTION

The United Nations' **Universal declaration of human rights**, and human ethics, are adopted by the anarchist international as a basis for economic-political action. The concepts of the UN-human rights are however somewhat diffus, and may be interpreted in more or less libertarian, and sometimes even authoritarian, ways. From anarchist point of view, authoritarian interpretations should of course be avoided. Thus, the UN-human rights should be interpreted in an anarchist way, i.e. practically towards ideally, as more and more human rights - and not less! **Authoritarian real terms interpretations, i.e. mainly plutarchic, hierarchic, patriarchic, matriarchic, monarchic, oligarchic and ochlarchic versions of the concepts involved, are not accepted !** Thus, say, the words "representatives", "state", "authority" and "government" used in the declaration should be understood in a libertarian way, as horizontally organized public sector, with delegates of the people and direct democracy, and not government in the meaning of vertically organized, i.e. authoritarian, with large rank and/or income differences. The term "member states" means "member countries". And the term "property" should be interpreted in an anarchist way, i.e. things possessed, in the meaning of owned, in a rightful, non-criminal, non-statist and non-capitalist way, and thus consistent with relatively small rank and income differences. To put it short, **capitalism is theft, and theft is capitalism**, from anarchist point of view. This is further explained in *International Journal of Anarchism* fb@ no 1(20), 3(21) Anarchism and law, 4(25) Anarchism: Ideal, principles & practice, chapter I, 2(26) Anarchism - the logical structure, chapter I and IX; *Introduction* chapter I-III & IX and *The Oslo convention* at the **IFA-web site URL: <http://www.anarchy.no/anarchy/>** ; and the *International Anarchist Tribunal* via links at the same URL. The following is the Universal declaration of human rights, unabridged, as far as we know... Source: IAT-IFA and United Nations

On December 10, 1948 the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights the full text of which appears in the following pages. Following this historic act the Assembly called upon all Member countries to publicize the text of the Declaration and "to cause it to be disseminated, displayed, read and expounded principally in schools and other educational

institutions, without distinction based on the political status of countries or territories."

PREAMBLE

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now, Therefore,

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

proclaims

THIS UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Article 1.

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2.

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3.

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4.

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5.

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6.

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7.

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8.

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9.

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10.

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11.

(1) Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

(2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12.

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13.

(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.

(2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14.

(1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

(2) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15.

(1) Everyone has the right to a nationality.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16.

(1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

(2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

(3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17.

(1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18.

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19.

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20.

(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

(2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21.

(1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

(2) Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

(3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held

by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22.

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23.

(1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

(2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

(3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

(4) Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24.

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25.

(1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

(2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26.

(1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human

personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

(3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27.

(1) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

(2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28.

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29.

(1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

(2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

(3) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30.

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

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Welcome to the

IJ@

International Journal of Anarchism

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Articles to IJA may be written in any language, and should be provided with an English summary. If the article is short and written in English, the summary can be omitted.

The electronic issues of the International Journal of Anarchism are updated every time there are significant more informations about the different events and cases. But unless special cases, they are not redistributed by e-mail when they are updated. Also the IAT and other pages are updated almost every day. Thus, to be updated on the news and comments about anarchy, anarchist(s) and anarchism in different connections, it is necessary to visit the AIIS-web sites every day.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF IJ@

The history of IJ@ is close connected the history of "Folkebladet" and to the foundation of the Northern section(s) of IFA/IAF, the Anarchist International. The foundation of the Northern section(s) of IFA/IAF started with the affiliation of the Anarchist Federation of Norway. This is documented, among other things, in the Bulletin C.R.I.F.A, the official organ of IFA at that time. The "Commision de rédaction de bulletin CRIFA 145 Rue Amelot 75011 Paris France" and "C.R.I.F.A. Umberto Marzocchi Casella Postale no 22 17100 Savona (Italia)" were responsible for the publication. C.R.I.F.A. is the "Commission de relations de l'internationale des fédérations anarchistes". In C.R.I.F.A. Bulletin no 39 avril-mai 1982 p. 10 the following was reported:

DÉCLARATION D'ADHÉSION A L'INTERNATIONALE DES FÉDÉRATIONS ANARCHISTES / IFA DE LA PART DE LA FÉDÉRATION ANARCHISTE DE NORVÈGE / ANORG

L'ANORG a été fondée à Oslo le 13 mars 1977 et a été depuis la seule organisation anarchiste de Norvège. et, ensemble avec la petite fédération syndicaliste NSF/AIT, les seules organisations libertaires dans tout le pays. L'ANORG, a des adhérents dans tout le pays. Nous vous joignons notre journal extérieur "Folkebladet" organe de l'ANORG, et nous avons également un bulletin intérieur.

Même si vous ne comprenez pas ce qui est écrit, nous pensons qu'il peut être intéressant que vous voyiez ce que les anarchistes norvégiens font.

L'ANORG a été invité par des anarchistes danois à rejoindre l'IFA. Congrès du 23-27 mars 1978, mais nous avons décidé avant d'avoir plus d'expérience et d'être capable d'y participer autant que les autres fédérations. Cependant le 15 janvier 1979 l'ANORG a voté à l'unanimité de rejoindre l'IFA sur les principes

approuvés par le 3e congrès de l'IFA. Mais maintenant nous pensons qu'il est temps de participer au travail international sur un pied d'égalité avec les autres fédérations anarchistes. - Fédération anarchiste de Norvège.

A note about the founding date: "Foregangsgruppa i ANORG" - the interim group in the Anarchist Federation, rooted back to *Kultursyndikatet*, the Culture Syndicat in the late 1960'ties, had worked for several years as a loose network to found an anarchist federation, without semilibertarian marxists and liberal/individualists. *Foregangsgruppa* was formally founded 13 Mars 1977. This group did a lot of work to join the forces of the different groups and individuals of the anarchist movement, and after a wide debate, arranged the statutory general meeting of the federation, "stiftelsesmøtet", Tuesday 13. September 1977. Thus, Anarkistføderasjonen i Norge (AFIN) - Anarkistenes Organisasjon (i Norge) - ANORG, the Anarchist Federation of Norway, was finally founded 13.09.1977. Folkebladet was founded in 1971, and had been the organ of different groups, before it became the organ of the Anarchist Federation. It had also been distributed internationally, mainly in Scandinavia.

The affiliation to IFA recorded in Bulletin C.R.I.F.A. no 39 avril-mai 1982, was confirmed in a letter from C.R.I.F.A. Umberto Marzocchi, dated 12th of May 1982 and another letter 09.11.1982. The first letter also urged the first Nordic Anarchist Congress. The term "Nordic" means Northern, i.e. in the North in general, as confirmed on a later congress. **The Northern section(s) of IFA was founded at the first Nordic anarchist congress in Oslo, 15-18 October 1982. The Bulletin C.R.I.F.A no 42 novembre-février 1982 declared :**

(There were a Spanish (p. 4) and an English (p. 5) report in this issue of the Bulletin C.R.I.F.A, but the Spanish version seems to be the most correct of the two, compared to the Swedish and Norwegian reports printed in Folkebladet, and other material. Thus we will quote the Spanish version here. Where the English version is more precise, this is noted in [...] brackets):

EL PRIMER CONGRESO ANARQUISTA NÓRDICO

El primer congreso anarquista nórdico se ha celebrado del 15 al 17 de octubre del [19]82 en Oslo (Folkets Hus, Youngstorget). Ha estado organizado por la ANORG/IFA (Federación anarquista noruega afiliada a la IFA). Este congreso se ha celebrado según el deseo de Umberto Marzocchi, secretario de la [IFA/]CRIFA, siendo expresado en una carta el 12 de mayo del [19]82 a la ANORG. Estaban presentes los delegados de varios países nórdicos así que los observadores de la SAC (Sveriges Arbetares Centralorganisation) ... y un representante de la Federación anarquista francesa [a delegate from the French Anarchist Federation (FAF/IFA), was also present].

El principal tema de este congreso ha sido la cooperación anarquista nórdica... La meta a alcanzar es la adhesión de los anarquistas a una sección nórdica de la IFA a través de sus propios Federaciones nacionales. A este fin el congreso unánime decide la puesta en marcha de un secretariado nórdico de la IFA. Por el momento ese papel será tenido por el secretariado administrativo [the expeditionary group] de la ANORG.... Los anarquistas que quieran adherir a la IFA podrán hacerlo teniendo como intermediario el secretariado nórdico de la

IFA. Estos anarquistas se encontrarán en la misma situación con respecto a la IFA que los miembros de la ANORG (decisiones, cotisaciones, etc.)

El secretariado nórdico publicará ocho bolitinos al año que serán adjuntos a Folkebladet ... o sea al boletín interior, o bien según el caso, un espacio será reservado en sus publicaciones para las informaciones procedentes del secretariado...

El secretariado nórdico a través del boletín deberá contribuir a organizar actividades comunes, entre otras, congresos, conferencias, tribunas anarquistas, simposios, seminarios, encuentros estivales y actividades culturales... El secretariado deberá encargarse de la coordinación de las actividades [direct actions of different kinds] nórdicas.

El primer número del "Boletín Nórdico" editado por el congreso, ha sido publicado en suplement del número 4 de Folkebladet (año 1982). Su título es "IFA-Solidaritet" (órgano de las secciones nórdicas de la IFA).

(The reports were signed by the COMMISSION DE REDACTION DU BULLETIN CRIFA. Editors note)

The conclusion of these documents recorded in Bulletin C.R.I.F.A no 39 avril-mai and no 42 novembre-février 1982, is that the Anarchist Federation of Norway - Anarkistføderasjonen i Norge (AFIN) - Anarkistenes organisasjon (i Norge) ANORG, was affiliated to IFA/IAF from 15.01 1979 with the organ "Folkebladet", and that the Northern Section(s) of IFA was/were founded and affiliated to IFA/IAF 15-17.10.1982, with the bulletin "IFA-Solidaritet", IAF-Solidarity, published in close connection to Folkebladet. The Northern section(s)' affiliation to IFA, was/were also confirmed on later IFA-congresses arranged in Oslo, and documented in issues of Bulletin C.R.I.F.A and IFA-Solidaritet, the two officially and mandated organs of IFA at that time. Furthermore, there were no opposition to these decisions recorded in the Bulletin C.R.I.F.A and IFA-Solidaritet, so they were decided by general consent. Some of the new Northern sections of IFA, i.e. the Danish, the Swedish and the Finnish, were in one years time refounded as IFA-federations, i.e. in 1983. This was unanimously decided upon by a general ballot, referendum, among the members of the Northern sections. This is recorded in IFA-Solidaritet, which was distributed to the other IFA/IAF-sections, among other things, via the C.R.I.F.A. The documents also implies that the IFA-secretariate in Oslo was not considered as a sub-secretariate to C.R.I.F.A, but on equal footing, i.e as commissions for the Northern and Southern sections respectively.

In 1983 there were 4 Northern (Norwegian, Swedish, Danish and Finnish) and 3 Southern federations (French, Italian and Iberian) in IFA/IAF plus the UAB (Bulgarian Anarchist Union) and the Northern sections outside Scandinavia. In the following years the Bulletin C.R.I.F.A declined in number of issues and quality, and it was necessary to do something to keep up the anarchist international information service. In 1984 Folkebladet and IFA-Solidaritet were gathered in one publication, and the name **International Journal of Anarchism** was introduced. At the same time the distribution started to develop world wide, not only in Scandinavia. Also "Brand", the Swedish anarchist paper of AFIS/APF, and later "International Journal of Organization

Research", the organ of IIFOR, were included in IJA. After some delay the organ of AFID, "Dialog", was also included in Folkebladet/IJ@.

Since the IJA is a direct follower of Folkebladet, the volumes of the journal are counted from the founding of Folkebladet in 1971. Thus, issues of the volumes are noted as the number of the issue, plus the volume number, say 1 (31) for the first number of the 31st volume, i.e. year 2001. These changes were also confirmed on the later Northern IFA congresses. During the last part of the 1980ties the Bulletin C.R.I.F.A declined further, and finally finished publishing. Thus International Journal of Anarchism became the only officially mandated and publicly registered organ for the anarchist international IFA/IAF and the anarchist movement in general. The international journal registration number of IJA is ISSN 0800-0220. In 1996 IJA was introduced on Internet, and since 1998 it has been an electronic online-journal, distributed on the Internet and/or by e-mail world wide to anarchists and others with interest of anarchist information. There will however also be issues on paper distributed to IFA-sections and others interested in anarchy, anarchist(s) and anarchism internationally, that do not have access to e-mail or internet. IJ@ is also the organ of the International Anarchist Tribunal, founded in 1982.

The mandate for the International Journal of Anarchism, in **addition** to what is mentioned above, is similar to the mandate made for the Bulletin C.R.I.F.A. in the old days, decided by the International of Anarchist Federations IAF/'Internationale des Fédérations Anarchistes IFA, updated to the modern IT-age: We call again the decisions that have been taken at congresses of the Anarchist International IAF/IFA. After a long discussion about the development of IFA/IAF, and the best way to maintain links between the anarchists in the world, the next points have been decided:

- The IJ@ will be sent to the whole international libertarian movement (organizations, papers, reviews,...);

The IJ@ will be written in several languages: French, English, Spanish, Scandinavian, etc. and articles should be provided with an English summary. The summary may be omitted if the article is short and written in English;

- Circulars will be sent to the sections to discuss particular points and to convene reunions of work;

- Reunion of work convened by the joining sections, with summary in order to prepare these reunions. An objective of these reunions are to prepare new conferences of international campaigns.

- Internet and e-mail are suitable means to reach these ends.

In 1997 the term **Anarchist International** was introduced. This is a wider concept than the IFA/IAF meaning the affiliated federations. The Anarchist International is based on the IFA/IAF-federations, i.e. mainly in Europe, but also includes groups and individuals that are anarchists or interested in anarchist information broadly defined all over the world. The purpose of this is to work stand by for one affiliated anarchist federation in each country, so the International may be a really anarchist alternative to the UN, i.e. for the whole world. Furthermore the IJA is distributed not only to libertarians, but to "the people, anarchists and authorities world wide", including the international newsmedia. This is to inform the world of resolutions from anarchist-congresses, -conferences, -seminars, -tribunals and other activities, and to

organize common actions to promote more anarchy and less authoritarian tendencies in the different countries.

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Welcome to the
**ANARCHIST BLACK
CROSS**
affiliated to the
**International Black
Cross**

BLACK FLAG
Organ of the Anarchist Black Cross
No 1 2005

INTRODUCTION TO THE ABC HOMEPAGE

This is the official website of the solidarity confederation Anarchist Black Cross. ABC is affiliated to the International Black Cross (IBC). The secretariate of both the ABC and IBC is located in Norway, i.e. the Anarchist Black Cross International, ABC-I. Unless special cases all anarchists and organizations of the Anarchist International are collectively members of the ABC. Solidarity work for libertarian political prisoners, i.e. the main purpose of ABC, is a must for all anarchists. While the IBC has a more general solidarity program, among other things co-operating with other human rights and solidarity groups, the ABC in general only supports anarchist political prisoners.

The above linked logo, is the only and original ABC, IBC and ABC-I logo, and it is copyrighted and trademarked material of the Anarchist International - IJ@/Fb, see (click on) "Links" below.

The program of the ABC is consistent with the resolutions of the Anarchist International in general, i.e. , say, authoritarian tendencies - as terrorists, mafia, ochlarchy (mob rule) and chaos groups, etc., including such persons falsely posing as and/or called "anarchists" in the newsmedia are not supported.

The title "Black Flag" as the organ of the Anarchist Black Cross, is among the copyrighted material of AI. As an organ of the ABC, this webpage is also an updated issue of the Black Flag - Organ of the Anarchist Black Cross. It may be mentioned that the cross here is used as a symbol of anarchist human rights, i.e. secular libertarian law and order as well as solidarity, and has principally no divine or religious meaning. In addition to the cross the logo also includes an outline of a star with similar meaning as the Black Star of the International Anarchist Tribunal, and the @-sign of anarchist youth, indicating both that libertarian youths should participate enthusiastic in the ABC solidarity work, as well as an understanding and solidarity for the typical rebellion of a new libertarian generation. The veteran militants of the anarchist movement should never forget that they once were young....

Sorry to say, the ABC has from time to time got 'competition' from marxians and other authoritarian groups falsely posing as ABC, to provoke and let the ABC look like idiots. Other papers and websites a.s.o. calling themselves "Black Flag", "Flag Blackened", "Black Panther", "Black Hammer", "Black Halfmoon" and similar, have occurred, i.e. they have nothing to do with the ABC etc. although sometimes falsely posing as a part of the organization.

Especially we must give a warning about a false "anarchist black cross network" mainly put up by the marxist 'autonomus' ochlarchy group "Blitz" in Oslo, with main website at blitz/abc.html . A few other microscopic groups here and there are also connected to this false "Blitz-abc" network. The marxian Blitz is well known for making ochlarchy and falsely pose as 'anarchist' to provoke and put the blame on anarchists. They are also using a false "abc-logo", i.e. the typical marxian fist logo of Blitz placed on the top of a black cross. Anyone using this false "abc-logo" may in general be looked upon as false.

This false "Blitz-abc" of course has no connection to the ABC or the original logo linked above. The "Blitz-abc" has also made a typical marxian provocation of a false "anarchist" program, a) stating the "autonomous" right to "freedom" to do ochlarchy (mob rule, mafia) - for they who might feel like doing so, b) supporting marxian/ochlarchist "comrades" in jail and similar - there are lists of marxian and other ochlarchical jailbirds falsely presented as "anarchists", c) demanding release of mainly all criminals from prison right away, d) and similar provokative crackpot ideas, say total abolishing of prisons and punishment, making anarchists and anarchism look totally stupid. Anarchists look upon prisons as a necessity to fight crime, criminality is in general authoritarian, but at the same time are for human treatment of prisoner, against capital punishment, physical punishment and torture in any form

As anarchy is freedom, i.e. without harming others' freedom; and ochlarchy is the opposite of this, these "autonomous" marxian ochlarchy false "ABC" groups clearly demonstrate that they are not a part of the anarchist movement.

It is directly opposed to ABC program to support ochlarchists and terrorists in prison. Support for non-anarchist political prisoners and prisoners in general are the tasks of International Black Cross, not the Anarchist Black Cross, - and ochlarchs and terrorists do not have the highest priority for support anyway.

The reason for this divided policy between ABC and IBC is a) that anarchists wrongly often are mixed up with ochlarchy, say, in the newsmedia, and that is harmful to our movement, and thus b) ochlarchical persons from marxian small group vanguard pseudo-"class war" activities, chaos-punks, a.s.o, that ends up in jail must never be called 'anarchists' to avoid such misunderstandings. Furthermore the marxian parties etc. should support their comrades themselves, relatively poor anarchists should not work and pay to support marxian and similar ochlarchs. If the marxians come to power, they would probably bully us anarchists and/or do worse, as have happened several times throughout history. To work for the release of bullies that may attack us if they get out of jail, and even falsely pose as "anarchists" to provoke and compromise our movement, is certainly not of high priority for the anarchists. Hell no!

A BRIEF HISTORY OF BC, ABC, IBC AND ABC-I

The ABC is rooted back to an "Anarchist Red Cross" organization in Tsarist Russia, which was later financed and organized by Russian emigres in the USA. During and after the Russian Revolution, the name was changed to "Black Cross" to avoid confusion with the Red Cross, which was also active in the war-stricken Russia. It carried on, chiefly from Chicago and Berlin, looking after first Russian political prisoners - who were now those of the Bolsheviks and not of the Tsar - and then the victims of Italian fascism. But the numbers of anarchists who were attacked by reaction in country after country became too vast for the organization - especially when the depression in the USA made it difficult to raise funds in the last bastion of support for them - the foreign language speaking trade unions in America. So the "Black Cross" faded out as an active organization.

The British Anarchist Federation had been reorganized in the early 1960s. At that time this was a broad based federation including both anarchists and semilibertarian marxists and liberals, so it hardly deserved the name anarchist. However at the same time there were a lot of political prisoners in the Spanish fascist state of Franco, many of them anarchists, and they were mainly forgotten by the international media as well as Amnesty International a.s.o.. Mainly some of the semilibertarian marxists, sometimes wrongly called "anarcho-marxists", related to this federation, among them Stuart Christie and Albert Meltzer, proposed to do political prisoner support at one of the yearly meetings of the British Anarchist Federation, and soon after a preliminary "Black Cross" appeared, however not called anarchist.

In **1968** - at the International Anarchist Congress, i.e. the reorganizing congress of the Anarchist International IFA, in Carrara, Italy, the delegates from the British Anarchist Federation had hoped to form and international "Black Cross" within the framework of IFA. However because they were not anarchists, but semilibertarian marxians, they were of course not allowed to participate fully at the 1st IFA congress, only join as observers, so the project was at first rejected as an IFA campaign.

Instead Stuart Christie, together with other semilibertarian marxists, as, say, Daniel Cohn Bendit, that also were observers at the International Anarchist Congress, formed a small alternative congress

near by, where the International Black Cross was launched, i.e. it was not considered anarchist, but mainly semilibertarian marxian, but anarchists could also participate. Later on an anarchist section of the International Black Cross, called the **Anarchist Black Cross affiliated to Internationa Black Cross**, appeared. However the secretariate of the IBC, mainly Christie and Meltzer, at first continued also as the secretariate of the ABC, and this sometimes lead to misunderstandings with respect to the political tendency of the Anarchist Black Cross on the one hand, and the broader more or less semilibertarian International Black Cross, that had a marxian and sometimes also liberal tendency - on the other.

Furthermore, as in the early days just a loose network of a few microscopic and random groups, easy to infiltrate by provokers and ochlarchs occured, the organization was for several years insignificant in many ways, and mainly semilibertarian, not anarchist. This was about to change when AFIN/ANORG joined the ABC in 1979, with a more firm organizational approach, and a clear cut anarchist ABC-section.

In 1979, the Anarchist Federation of Norway (AFIN/ANORG), at about the same time as it affiliated to IFA and CAN, also joined the Anarchist Black Cross, collectively. In a letter to ABC later on the following was stated: **"On the 15. january 1979 the ANORG collectively joined the Anarchist Black Cross by an unanimous voting throughout the country."** The affiliation to the Anarchist Black Cross was first confirmed in a personally signed letter from Albert Meltzer, and later also confirmed publicly in the paper "Black Flag - organ of the Anarchist Black Cross" No 6 (1981), also stating "Folkebladet" (The Peoples' Journal) as an organ of the ABC/IBC: **"The main anarchist paper is Folkebladet (The people's Journal)... A new activist anarchist group with monthly action campaigns has emerged. The ANORG (AFIN) has collectively joined the Anarchist Black Cross"**. A campaign for an imprisoned fellow, Kjell Vesje [in 2002 working as a journalist in the NRK - The Norwegian general public broadcasting] was also launched internationally. The note in the Black Flag No 6 (1981) also declared that doing military service (mainly in the local militia, HV) was **"a useful way to get knowledge of arms"** for the anarchists.

In 1982-83 the collective membership of AFIN/ANORG to the ABC/IBC was passed on to the Northern sections of IFA. The 1st Northern IFA-congress in Oslo 1982 decided a.o.t. the following: "Political, economic

and cultural co-operation was mentioned, in unions, co-operative and collective movement, ecology and environmental protection, feminism, youth movement, **political solidarity work (for instance the Anarchist Black Cross)**... The aim should be an organizational integration of all anarchists ...as one nordic IFA section with national federations. To promote such a development the congress decided unanimously to establish a nordic IFA secretariate, which for the time being is to be adjoined to the expeditionary group of ANORG. Anarchists ... who are not associated to any national IFA federation adjoin to IFA directly through this nordic secretariate. If nothing else is agreed upon, these members will have the same connection to IFA as ANORG members, with the same rights, paying the same fee, etc" (i.e. also to be collectively members of ABC-IBC). This is a.o.t. documented in the **Bulletin C.R.I.F.A. no 42 novembre 1982** p. 5. and **Folkebladet No 4/1983** and **IFA-Solidaritet No 8/1983**.

A letter signed by Stuart Christie also confirmed the collective membership of the Northern sections of IFA to ABC-IBC, and Folkebladet as an organ of the Northern sections of ABC-IBC. In the early 1980s, say, the ABC-campaigns for Solidarity in Poland were among the most important. This is documented a.o.t. in Folkebladet No 1/1982. ABC-IBC was also involved in solidarity actions for the French anarchist radio "Radio Libertaire" in its fight for free speech and against repression from the authorities, see, say, **Folkebladet No 4/1983**.

In 1983 the Northern sections became national IFA-federations, and the collective affiliation to ABC and IBC passed on as well. At the same time the IFA secretariate in Oslo also became the secretariate of the Anarchist Black Cross and the International Black Cross in the North in general. The semilibertarian marxian faction of IBC declined slowly, and the anarchistical ABC and IBC in the North, with secretariate in Oslo, became the main basis for the activity and organization. Folkebladet/International Journal of Anarchism continued as the main organ of the ABC-IBC when the British organ of the Anarchist Black Cross finished later on in the 1980s. This continued when the International Journal of Anarchism appeared on Internet in 1996 and later.

In 1998 when the broader network confederation called the Anarchist International world wide (AI/IFA) was confirmed, a) the collective ABC membership of the AI-sections in general was acknowledged, b) the IFA/AI secretariate in Oslo with the ABC and IBC secretariates called

ABC-I was unanimously decided upon - c) the IJ@ was confirmed as a general organ of the ABC, IBC, ABC-I and AI/IFA, d) the "Black Flag - organ of the Anarchist Black Cross" was confirmed as a special organ of the ABC and ABC-I, and c) the logo and names linked above trademarked and copyrighted material of IJ@/FB. This was also confirmed at the International Anarchist Congress of AI/IFA in Oslo medio December 2000.

The large problem of anarchist political prisoners, say, in Spain during Franco's rule, is no longer there, and the ABC at the moment is mainly involved in preventive solidarity work, i.e. doing actions to avoid that anarchists should once more be exposed to heavy repression and be political prisoners (and/or mobbed, tortured and/or be murdered) in different connections - now and in the future. The IBC has a somewhat broader approach, and mainly works in co-operation with other human rights and solidarity organizations.

In 2002 the Anarchist Black Cross and International Black Cross have a.o.t. been active in the solidarity campaign for Edgar Rodrigues and works for more court security and quality, as well as more human treatment of prisoners and better rehabilitation programs.

Anarchist, solidaric greetings - G. Johnson - Secretary of ABC-I

Contact ABC? - click here!

Links

365583

Welcome **to** **The Anarchist International Embassy in** **Oslo**

l'ambassade du monde libertaire

Anarkistinternasjonals **ambassade i Oslo**

ABOUT THE ANARCHIST INTERNATIONAL **EMBASSY (AIE):**

The *Anarchist International Embassy* was founded and mandated by the International Anarchist Congress, i.e. the Fifth Anarchist Biennial in Oslo medio December 1998. The Anarchist Biennials are a series of international anarchist congress-seminars, starting with the first one in 1990, arranged by the North sections of AI-IFA-IAF.

The *Anarchist International Embassy* is mandated to take care of the Anarchist International's *diplomatic services* on an autonomous basis, using a) anarchist principles, i.e. socialism and autonomy, efficiency and fairness, the IFA-principles, the Oslo Convention, anarchist human rights & ethics and the economical-political map, as well as b) relations to the International Anarchist Tribunal a.s.o.; related to concrete diplomatic situations and international affairs, vis-à-vis other embassies and external departments, ministries of foreign affairs, offices and state departments of different countries.

Links

Contact the AIE here

You are visitor No. **365585** since July 1996

Welcome to the:

GREEN
INTERNATIONAL

ANARCHIST
ASSOCIATION

G

A

I

A

Eco-Anarchist

International

Green

Grass

Confederation

Green Anarchists' Network World Wide



A BRIEF NOTE ON GAIA

This is the official website of the **Green Anarchist International Associaton**, GAIA - a section of the Anarchist International (AI). The Confederation is a loose network of libertarians related to **environmental political economy broadly defined, human & social ecology included**.

The network is historically mainly rooted back to the 1960s and 1970s in Europe and America, and was officially confirmed as a section of the Anarchist International at the IFA-congress in Oslo 1982, deciding a.o.t. the following: "Political, economic and cultural co-operation was mentioned, in unions, co-operative and collective movement, **ecology and environmental protection**, feminism, youth movement... The aim should be an organizational integration of all anarchists ...To promote such a development the congress decided unanimously to establish a nordic IFA secretariate.... This is a.o.t. documented in the **Bulletin C.R.I.F.A. no 42 novembre 1982** p. 5. and **Folkebladet No 4/1983** and **IFA-Solidaritet No 8/1983**. The **Anarchist Manifesto**

ISBN 82-90468-09-1 of the Northern sections of IFA published in 1983, confirms the branch of "**anarcho-ecologists (environmental and resource-movement)**" within the general program.

The eco-anarchist section was later expanded universally when the Anarchist International world wide was officially confirmed at the International Anarchist Congress in Oslo medio December 1998 and later. The eco-anarchists sometimes change the red part of the anarchist flag (se above) with green, Green anarchist youths sometimes may use a green flag with a black @-logo, or a black flag with a green @-logo, and the **Green Grass** movement, sometimes including other groups, say, semilibertarians, in a broad based eco-political front, has used a circled logo with a green, a black and a red segment. The **Green Grass Confederation** is mainly rooted back to 1972 in Scandinavia.

In Norway, in the spring 1972, the Green Grass - **Grønt Gras** - appeared in the student and environmental politics. The program was "**Grønt Gras står for en antikapitalistisk og antiautoritær politikk, basert på en økologisk forståelse av menneskesamfunnet**", som det sto i formålsparagrafen, i.e. an anticapitalist and antiauthoritarian policy, based on an ecological understanding of the human society. At first the Norwegian Student Society, **Det Norske Studentersamfunn** (DNS) was the place of action. Both in Oslo and Trondheim **Grønt Gras** won the elections to the managerial councils of DNS. In the autumn 1972 the commies', mainly maoist, Red Front (*Rød Front*) took over again, but **Grønt Gras** continued as a green activist and student organization for several years.

At the IFA-congress in Oslo 1982, where the green section of the Anarchist International was officially confirmed, several activists of **Grønt Gras** participated. In the mid 1980s the active engagement at the DNS declined, but the eco-anarchists' actions continued in the green section of the Anarchist international. In 1984 at the Anarchist Gathering in Venice, the Nordic green anarchist delegation participated in the eco-anarchist discussions with Murray Bookchin and several other green activists, and presented interesting points of view. The eco-anarchist section continued to work both within the Anarchist International and the green networks world wide in the 1980-90s and later, also functioning as a junction between the anarchist and the green movement in general. At the 20th anniversary of the Green Anarchist International Association in 2002, a.o.t. the updated **Ecoanarchist Manifesto** was presented internationally for environmental actions and further discussion and research (see link below).

The eco-anarchist movement must not be mixed up with neo-luddist, primitivist, anti-civilization and similar groups and policies, i.e. authoritarian and eccentric ideas and practice and far from anarchist, although sometimes posing as 'libertarian green' to provoke. The eco-anarchist movement has a rational, libertarian socialist basis for its policy, and **rejects** principally marxian and other dialectical type ideology, "new-age" and/or "Skippy&Disney" utopian based "animal liberation", vegetarian fanaticism, irrational environmentalism, and similar authoritarian tendencies. The eco-anarchist movement is **clearly opposed to** and in general **denounces** the sometimes fanatical and irrational tendencies and guru-hierarchies we have seen within the ecology and green movement in general, as well as terrorism and ochlarchy tendencies, sometimes wrongly called "anarchist" in the media.

GAIA is engaged in all kinds of environmental issues, also, say, workplace environment included problems with ochlarchy (mob rule) and bad physical environment. This item may be closely related to the anarchist principle of autogestion. Sometimes there may be conflicting interests between GAIA and the environmental issues on the one hand, and on the other the anarcho-syndicalist and other sections of the Anarchist International, primarily interested in market goods and services in public and private sector, and not the environmental factors in general. The Anarchist International has several ways to deal with such conflicts based on fairness, efficiency, social justice and other anarchist principles.

Green anarchist policy is based on a) general, ecological and environmental scientific knowledge, b) decent treatment of animals for food, c) a "leave the world in better shape to our children than we got it from our parents", "live and let live", "ecological variety" & "polluting units are responsible for cleaning up", etc. policy, d) a general skepticism vis-a-vis genetical manipulations, especially in a world based to a large extent on statism and plutarchy, as such research may, in worst case scenario, be the basis for authoritarian, dystopian hell-societies much more authoritarian and worse than Orwell's "1984", e) optimal resource, ecological and environmental management as a part of the general political-economy, f) as mentioned - a rational, libertarian socialism, the anarchist principles in general.

Several libertarian writers have made contributions to eco-anarchism throughout the years, however the book "*Post-scarcity Anarchism*" (1971) by Murray Bookchin* gave the movement a major boost. The left-hegelian type dialectical tendencies in some of his works are however pseudoscience, and are thus

principally rejected as not valid anarchism. Later on Murray Bookchin left the anarchist movement and the research front of green anarchism has been developed further, without the dialectical framework, by other libertarian researchers. The Eco-Anarchist Manifesto (see link below) presents a brief summary of the research front of green anarchism.

GAIA is an abbreviation for the Green Anarchist International Association, but also the Greek word for the Latin term Tellus, the name of the planet Earth used in astronomy. Gaia and Tellus are also used as names for the Earth thought of as a god, a divine "mother earth", in ancient mythology, but this interpretation has of course no interest in eco-anarchist perspective and organization, i.e. a secular project. The eco-anarchists and the GAIA confederation are however naturally interested in making "mother earth", our material planet, a better place to live for the people of the world, especially environmentally and ecologically, sustainable, now and in the future. More information is available via "contact GAIA" below.

20th Anniversary of GAIA 1982-2002. Celebrated a.o.t. on Internet Saturday 16.11.2002 - Proudly presenting: **THE ECOANARCHIST **MANIFESTO****

Click on:

The Ecoanarchist Manifesto will be updated and revised regularly, dependent on feedback and new research. If you have any comments, feel free to post it to GAIA by using the mailform below.

A crude translation from English to Spanish and the other way around may be done at
URL: <http://www.freetranslation.com/> or <http://www.worldlingo.com/wl/Translate>

THE GREEN ANARCHIST INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION - GAIA PRESS RELEASE 19.11.2002

Stricken oil tanker 'Prestige' sinks. Eco-anarchists and other libertarians call for new rules and more inspections in the Anarchy of the Oceans

Oil has been washing up on beaches in Galicia. The stricken tanker which has been leaking oil off the north-west coast of Spain has sunk after breaking apart, taking thousands of tons of fuel with it: 'Prestige', Built: 1976, Weight: 42,000 tons, Cargo: 77,000 tons of oil, Owners: Mare Shipping, Registered: Bahamas, Vulnerable vessel. - Almost everything was wrong with this heavy fuel-oil transport. The ship was too old. Bahamas has not sufficient quality control on the registered ships. The vessel was too vulnerable, etc..

The bow of the Prestige was the first to go under water, followed a few hours later by the rear of the vessel, which had been carrying at least 70,000 metric tons of heavy fuel oil. There are fears of a massive **ecological disaster** if all the oil escapes from the Bahamas-registered tanker, which was about 250 kilometres (150 miles) from the Spanish coast when it started to break up. A spokesman for the Dutch salvage company Smit Salvage said at least some of the compartments containing oil would go to the sea bed intact, lessening the impact of the spill, but that it was impossible to say how many. However several thousand tons of oil have already leaked from the Prestige since its hull cracked during a storm last Wednesday, much of which has washed up on the coast of Galicia.

GAIA, the Green Anarchist International Association warns that if the entire cargo spills, the resulting damage could be something like that caused in the Exxon Valdez disaster off the coast of Alaska in 1989 - one of the worst ever.

The Spanish authorities have suspended fishing along the 100-kilometre stretch of coastline from Roncudo to Cape Tourinan, and financial compensation has been promised to local fishermen. Whole communities depend on fishing in the area, which is famous for its shellfish, octopus and crabs. As local residents pushed ahead with an emergency clean-up operation, other European countries offered assistance in response to a Spanish appeal. Spanish Prime Minister Jose Maria Aznar - under fire from environmentalists, ecoanarchists included, for what they consider to be a timid response to the disaster - has vowed to make whoever is responsible pay for Spain's worst shipping disaster in 10 years. To the south, Portugal is bracing for the possibility that oil could foul its Atlantic beaches and rich fishing grounds. It had rejected the possibility of the crippled tanker entering one of its ports.

This is just a new accident among several: Jan 1993: 85,000 tons off the Shetland Islands, Dec 1992: 80,000 tons near La Coruna port in Spain, March 1989: 38,800 tons off Alaskan coast, 1979: 160,000 tons off Tobago, March 1967: 119,000 tons off the UK.

A diplomatic row has also erupted between Spain and Britain over responsibility for the maritime safety of the tanker. GAIA and other organizations say the catastrophe could have been averted if the United Nations had enforced new rules which oblige international inspections of all ships carrying problematic cargo before leaving the ports, and thus stop dangerous transport. The international UN legislation should target ships like the Prestige, an older, single-hulled vessel suspected of carrying a so-called flag of convenience. The break-up of the Bahamas-registered Prestige has also raised further questions over the issue of registering a vessel in a country with which it does not necessarily have any connection. It allows ship-owners to avoid certain taxes on their profits and avoid international regulations on matters like crew qualifications. Most of the tanker's crew were airlifted off the vessel last week. Companies make money by hiding behind flags of convenience in the event of trouble. The Greek captain of the vessel, Apostolos Mangouras, has been remanded in custody, accused of failing to co-operate with salvage crews and harming the environment. Spain's north-west coastline is known as the "coast of death" because of the many shipwrecks that have occurred there. The worst in recent

years was in 1992, when the Greek tanker Aegean Sea lost 80,000 tonnes of crude oil when it ran aground near La Coruna.

The situation calls for new and better international rules and more inspections in the Anarchy of the Oceans with respect to transport of environmentally dangerous cargo, a job for the United Nations. The anarchists will also have a say in this question.

WE CALL FOR ACTION

MORE INFORMATION ABOUT THE ANARCHY OF THE OCEANS AT URL:

<http://www.anarchy.no/ocean.html>

Links

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*) Similar to Michael Bakunin, Sam Dolgoff, Daniel Guerin and other more or less anarchist or semilibertarian thinkers sometimes using left-Hegelian type dialectics, Murray Bookchin's dialectical ideas in itself and the arguments and writings related to these ideas must principally be rejected as pseudoscience, and thus not anarchism or anarchist, i.e. scientific. These dialectical ideas may a) at best be irrelevant to anarchism or b) at worst be marxian dialectical ideas and semilibertarian or authoritarian. In case b) the general principle is to reject the whole thing as marxian, as marxian ideas are incompatible with anarchism, and mixes of marxian ideas and anarchist rhetorics are marxism, not anarchism. In case a) the dialectical ideas and framework should be omitted in anarchist perspective, or the hypothesis be reformulated in a non-dialectical, anarchist way if possible and reasonable. When this is done, what is left of the work and corrected, may be seen as anarchist, and the writer may also be seen as anarchist if what is omitted or corrected in general of important works is not the essential or significant, and the rest, the valid part of the works intending to be anarchist, are of major interest as anarchism. Thus several of Bakunin's and Sam Dolgoff's works may be considered as anarchist, and they may both be accounted for as anarchists for a part of their lives.

"Dialectical anarchism" and "anarcho-marxism" are however contradictory concepts, i.e. not allowed for in scientific, libertarian context. If the dialectical framework is basical to an essay or book, i.e. it cannot easily be omitted or corrected in a reasonable way, the work in general must be seen as non-anarchist, and then if significant socialist, a form of marxism, and at least in this context, the writer is not anarchist but marxian. In this perspective Daniel Guerin may hardly be accounted for as anarchist at all, because he principally uses a dialectical framework, and rejects the anarchist scientific method related to Kropotkin, falsely calling it pseudoscience, see **"L'anarchisme" (1965)**. This book by Guerin points to a certain amount of confusion in his own thought. It is rather surprising to find the beginning devoted to the preanarchist individualist, Max Stirner, without rejecting his dialectical ideas. At the point in time when the book was written, Guerin was under the influence of the oppositional Marxism that had influenced his early life and which he never entirely shook off. In his foreword to the last book he wrote **"A La Recherche d'un communisme libertaire"**, a rather semilibertarian marxist work, he

acknowledged his mistake and noted having distanced himself from basic anarchism.

Daniel Guerin's Trotskyite tendency may also be accounted for, say, Nils Kaare Dahl mentions in "Norwegian Trotskyism": "Guerin came to Norway the day after war (1940) broke out, together with three Frenchmen from Pivert's group. Guerin belonged to my group in Oslo. He was very well informed, and his book about **Nazism, Fascism and Big Business...**" may be mentioned as a typical Trotskyite marxian work. He spent nearly the whole war in Norway. Although his books on anarchism may be interesting, say, because he is quoting anarchists a lot and discusses anarchism in several ways, these books have a more or less biased, marxian type approach. **Guerin's "Ni dieu ni maitre, histoire et anthologie de l'anarchie - 4 vol. Petite Collection Maspero," Paris 1970**, must be seen as a falsification of history, say, omitting the basic that Anarchism is an updated research front, the accumulated knowledge of still valid and not rejected libertarian hypothesis developed by the methodology of natural sciences.

Guerin instead is presenting anarchism wrongly as ideas of different prophets, even twisting these ideas in a marxian direction within a left-hegelian dialectical framework, i.e. not compatible with the anarchist method. Furthermore the wrong presentation of the libertarian has a tendency towards **Lenin's** travesty of anarchism **"som en av sosialismens barnesykdommer"**, as an **"infantile disorder of socialism"** or left communism. Other leftist authors followed in Guerin's footsteps, and this has made a lot of errors in people's opinion and understanding of anarchism. The dialectical framework and arguments in his books discussing anarchism are of course not seen as valid anarchism in any way. Guerin is more of a marxian falsely posing as an anarchist, and thus not anarchist, but a trotskyite and later a semilibertarian marxist. The dialectical framework in Murray Bookchin's works from the 1960s toward the mid 1980s is however probably less significant and principal than Guerin's, and thus, similar to Bakunin and Dolgoff, when the dialectical arguments are omitted or corrected, Bookchin in those days may be considered an anarchist, i.e. having a significant anarchist tendency.

In his writings from the mid 1980s and later the marxian tendency is more clear, and he may then be accounted for as a semilibertarian marxian with a communalist and ecological tendency, but **not** anarchist. As mentioned Murray Bookchin also has stopped calling himself anarchist. And as mentioned, **the dialectical tendencies in Murray Bookchin's writings, also in his most libertarian works, are not, and have never been, valid anarchism.** To be accounted for as anarchism all of Bookchin's dialectical arguments and framework in the relevant works must be omitted or corrected, i.e. relevant dialectical phrases must be reformulated in an anarchist way toward testable working hypothesis, if possible and reasonable, to be discussed and tested in a libertarian, scientific way with the methods of modern natural sciences.

In the 1990s the dialectical, irrational, pseudoscientific Hegelian tendency of Bookchin became very significant, bringing a principal neo-Hegelian approach to the ecological thinking, in order to "naturalize" the dialectical tradition. His "dialectical naturalism" contrasts with Hegel's dialectical idealism and Marx and Engels's relatively mechanistic "dialectical materialism," but is anyway

typically marxian, opposed to the scientific methodology of anarchism. These "dialectical naturalist" ideas are elucidated in considerable detail in *The Philosophy of Social Ecology: Essays on Dialectical Naturalism* (Black Rose Books, 1990, revised and expanded ed. 1994). Bookchin's ideas on politics, philosophy, history, and anthropology are summarized succinctly in *Remaking Society* (Black Rose Books and South End Press, 1989). An up-to-date survey of his outlook may be found in the collection of excerpts in *The Murray Bookchin Reader* (Cassell, 1997). Now in his early eighties, Bookchin lives in semi-retirement in Burlington, Vermont, with his colleague and companion, Janet Biehl. Poor health restricts his ability to travel and lecture, but he lectures each summer at the Institute for Social Ecology (in Plainfield, Vermont). A mix of anarchist rhetoric and marxian, neo-Hegelian "natural" dialectics, is marxism and not anarchism. Thus, from anarchist point of view Bookchin left the movement and became a semilibertarian marxian guru in the late 1980s and 1990s. Murray Bookchin developed from a traditional marxist (a more or less trotskyite tendency) in the 1930s, to a left-libertarian and later returned to marxism with a semilibertarian tendency. Bookchin is now using the term "Communalism" of his ideology, and it is marxian, semilibertarian, and thus not anarchism, despite of some anarchist rhetoric.

Murray **Bookchin** was born in New York City , USA, on January 14, 1921, to immigrant parents who had been active in the Russian revolutionary movement of tsarist times. Very early in the 1930s he entered the Communist youth movement but by the late 1930s had become disillusioned with its authoritarian character. Deeply involved in organizing activities around the Spanish Civil War (he was too young to participate directly, although two of his older friends died on the Madrid front), he remained with the Communists until the Stalin-Hitler pact of September 1939, when he was expelled for "Trotskyist-anarchist deviations," a typically stalinist dialectical Orwellian "1984" newspeak and doublethinking concept of no scientific and logical value, because Trotsky with his "militarization of the production" theory is even more authoritarian and leftist than Stalin and Lenin, while the anarchists have their place far from trotskyism, in the middle above the marxian quadrant on the Economical-Political Map. As a foundryman in New Jersey for four years, he entered the workers' movement and became active in union organizing in northern New Jersey (a heavily industrialized area at that time) in the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). He became sympathetic to and active with the American Trotskyists while **Trotsky** was still alive, but after several years was disappointed by their traditional Bolshevik authoritarianism, especially after Trotsky's death.

After returning from service in the U.S. Army during the 1940s, he was an autoworker and became deeply involved in the United Auto Workers (UAW), a somewhat libertarian or semilibertarian union before Walter Reuther came to power in it. After participating in the great General Motors strike of 1948, he began to question all his traditional conceptions about the "hegemonic" or "vanguard" role of the industrial working class, writing extensively on this subject in later years. In time, he became a semilibertarian socialist and worked closely with German exiles in New York who were dissident Marxists and who moved increasingly toward a semilibertarian perspective (International

Kommunisten Deutschlands). Many of his articles in the early 1950s were published in *DINGE DER ZEIT* as well as its English-language sister publication, *CONTEMPORARY ISSUES*, under his pen names of M. S. Shiloh, Lewis Herber, Robert Keller, and Harry Ludd. His earliest book, which was based on a very large article "The Problem of Chemicals in Food" (*CONTEMPORARY ISSUES*, 1952), was published in Germany in collaboration with Gotz Ohly (*Herber and Ohly, LEBENS-GEFÄHRLICHE LEBENSMITTEL [Krailling bei München: Hanns Georg Müller Verlag, 1955]*). He pioneered writing on ecological issues in the United States and West Germany, and according to reports from German friends, his writings contributed somewhat to reforms in German food and drug legislation.

In the 1960s he was deeply involved in countercultural and New Left movements almost from their inception, and he pioneered the ideas of social ecology in the United States. His first American book, *OUR SYNTHETIC ENVIRONMENT* (pseud. Lewis Herber) was published by Alfred A. Knopf in 1962, preceding Rachel Carson's *SILENT SPRING* by nearly half a year. It received warm reviews from such outstanding members of the scientific community as René Dubos and William Vogt. He then wrote *CRISIS IN OUR CITIES* (Prentice Hall, 1965). The collection titled *POST-SCARCITY ANARCHISM* (Ramparts Books, 1971; Black Rose Books, 1977) comprised such pioneering essays as "Ecology and Revolutionary Thought" (1964) and "Towards a Liberatory Technology" (1965), both of which advanced the radical significance of the ecology issue and of alternative technologies for progressive movements of all kinds. At least 100,000 copies of "Listen, Marxist!" (1969), his critique of traditional Marxism, circulated in the United States and Great Britain, profoundly influencing the American New Left at the end of the 1960s. A Norwegian abridged translation published by the PAX/Socialist Left (SF) was also available a little later on, popular in Scandinavia. However some of Bookchin's ideas about anarchists are according to the marxian and trotskyite's travesty of anarchism and anarchists, i.e. some kind of extreme "children of Marx" with "infantile disorder of socialism", and have thus nothing to do with anarchism. It is clear from his books that he has never really understood Anarchism fully, i.e. an updated research front of libertarian social scientific research based on the methodology of natural sciences, without dialectics at all..

In the late 1960s, **Bookchin** taught at the Alternative University in New York, one of the largest "free universities" in the United States, then at City University of New York in Staten Island. In 1974, he co-founded and directed the **Institute for Social Ecology** in Plainfield, Vermont, which went on to acquire an international reputation for its advanced courses in ecophilosophy, social theory, and alternative technologies that reflect his ideas. In 1974, he also began teaching at Ramapo College of New Jersey, becoming full professor of social theory entering and retiring in 1983 in an emeritus status.

His subsequent works -- *THE LIMITS OF THE CITY* (Harper and Row, 1974), *THE SPANISH ANARCHISTS* (Harper & Row, 1977), and *TOWARD AN ECOLOGICAL SOCIETY* (Black Rose Books, 1981) -- were very well received and stand as preludes to *THE ECOLOGY OF FREEDOM* (Cheshire Books, 1982; republished by Black Rose Books, 1991). This major work received considerable

acclaim in major reviews not only in *THE VILLAGE VOICE* (one of New York's largest newsweeklies) but also in such scholarly journals as *AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST*. His articles have appeared in many periodicals since the 1950s, such as *WIN*, *LIBERATION*, *RAMPARTS*, *CO-EVOLUTION QUARTERLY*, *RAIN*, *TELOS*, *NEW POLITICS*, *OUR GENERATION*, and *ENVIRONMENTAL ETHICS*, among others. His book *THE RISE OF URBANIZATION AND THE DECLINE OF CITIZENSHIP* (Sierra Club Books, 1986; republished in Canada as *URBANIZATION WITHOUT CITIES* [Black Rose Books, 1992]) is a historical exploration of civic self-management and confederalism. His most recent books are *REMAKING SOCIETY* (Black Rose Books, 1989) and *THE PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIAL ECOLOGY* (Black Rose Books, 1990, revised 1994). But as mentioned, without doing away with the left-hegelian dialectical framework in a proper way, his works have no liberterian scientific value, but are pseudoscientific, and thus not anarchism. Bookchin has however inspired several eco-anarchists' writings, and some of Bookchin's thoughts are also included in the updated *ECOANARCHIST MANIFESTO* (2002), but of course the dialectical ideas are omitted in the manifesto.

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

**No labor union without
anarchists...**



**Global, European and Nordic Labor
Confederations**

**Globale, europeiske og nordiske
faglige sammenslutninger**

Global Labor Confederations

Globale faglige sammenslutninger

Main Organizations - Hovedorganisasjoner

[IWW/AI](#)

International Workers of the World
(anarkosyndikalistisk - anarchosyndicalist,
affiliated to the Anarchist International)

[ICFTU](#)

International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
(Frie Faglige Internasjonale - FFI - vesentlig)

sosialdemokratisk - mainly marxian social democrat)

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| IWA | International Workers Association (vesentlig anarko- og marxistiske syndikalister - mainly anarcho- and marxian syndicalists) |
| IWW | Industrial Workers of the World * (vesentlig marxistisk-syndikalistisk - mainly marxian syndicalist) |
| WCL | World Confederation of Labour (vesentlig kristeligdemokratisk - mainly christian democrat) |
| WFTU | World Federation of Trade Unions (tidl "østblokkland", nå 3.verden-dominert, vesentlig kommunistisk - mainly marxist communist) |

Globale yrkesinternasjonale

Tilknyttet ICFTU (FFI):

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| EI | Education International |
| ICEM | International Federation of Chemical, Energy, Mine and General Workers' Unions |
| IFBWW | International Federation of Building and Wood Workers |
| IEJ | International Federation of Journalists |
| IMF | International Metalworkers' Federation |
| ITF | International Transport Workers' Federation |
| ITGLWF | International Textile, Garment & Leather Workers' Federation |
| IUF | International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers' Associations |
| PSI | Public Services International |
| UADW | Universal Alliance of Diamond Workers (har <i>ikke</i> websider) |
| UNI | Union Network International |

Tilknyttet WCL:

| | |
|-------------------------|---|
| FIOST | International Federation of Trade Unions of Transport Workers |
| IFTC | International Federation Textile and Clothing |
| INFEDOP | International Federation of Employees in Public Services |
| WCT | World Confederation of Teachers |
| WFAFW | World Federation of Agricultural, Food , Hotel and Allied Workers |
| WFBW | World Federation of Building and Woodworkers Unions |
| WFCW | World Federation of Clerical Workers |
| WFIW | World Federation of Industry Workers |

Andre:

| | |
|------------------------|---|
| AEI | Aircraft Engineers International |
| IFALPA | International Federation of Air Line Pilots' Associations |

Andre typer globale sammenslutninger

| | |
|----------------------|---|
| TUAC | Trade Union Advisory Committee to the OECD (Den faglige Rådgivende komité i OECD) |
| ILO | International Labour Organisation of UN (Den Internasjonale Arbeidsorganisasjon i FN) |

European Labor Confederations

Europeiske faglige sammenslutninger

Europeiske generelle

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| ETUC | European Trade Union Confederation (Den Europeiske Faglige Samorganisasjon - DEFS) |
|----------------------|--|

Europeiske yrkesinternasjonale

Tilknyttet ETUC (DEFS):

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| ECF | European Committee of Food, Catering and Allied Workers' Union within the IUF (members only) |
| EFA | European Federation of Agricultural workers union (har <i>ikke</i> websider) |
| EFBWW | European Federation of Building and Woodworkers |
| EFDPS | European Industry Federation of Diamond and Precious Stone Workers (har <i>ikke</i> websider) |
| EFJ | European Federation of Journalists |
| EMCEF | European Mine, Chemical and Energy Workers' Federation |
| EMF | European Metalworkers' Federation |
| EPSU | European Federation of Public Service Unions |
| ETF | European Transport Workers' Federation |
| ETUCE | European Trade Union Committee for Education (har <i>ikke</i> websider) |
| ETUF-TCL | European Trade Union Federation - Textiles Clothing and Leather (har <i>ikke</i> websider) |
| UNI-Europe | Union Network International |

Ikke tilknyttet ETUC (DEFS):

| | |
|-------------------------|---|
| CEC | European Confederation of Executives and Managerial Staff |
| Euromil | European Organisation of Military Associations |

Europa - Regioner og enkeltland

| | |
|--|---|
| BASTUN | Baltic Sea Trade Union Network |
| Cyber Picket Line (Europe) | Lenkeside til europeiske hovedsammenslutninger, forbund og foreninger - European Linkpage |

Nordic Labor Internationals

Nordiske faglige sammenslutninger

Nordiske generelle

| | |
|---------------------|---------------------------------|
| NFS | Nordens Faglige Samorganisasjon |
|---------------------|---------------------------------|

Nordiske yrkesinternasjonale

| | |
|------------------------|---|
| Metall | Nordiska Metall |
| NBTF | Nordisk Bygnings- og Trearbeiderføderasjonen (har <i>ikke</i> websider) |
| NFU | Nordiske Finansansattes Union |
| NH | Nordiska Handels |
| NIF | Nordisk Industriarbeiderføderasjon |
| NLS | Nordiske Lærerorganisasjoners Samråd |
| NTF | Nordisk Transportarbeiderefederation (har <i>ikke</i> websider) |
| NU | Nordisk Union innen Nærings- og Nytelsesmiddelarbeiderforbund |

Nordic Countries' Main Confederations

Nordiske lands hovedsammenslutninger

Danmark

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| AFD | Anarkosyndikalistisk Føderation i Danmark - Danish section of the International Workers of the World |
| LO | Landsorganisationen i Danmark |
| AC | Akademikernes Centralorganisation |
| FTF | Funktionærernes og Tjenestemændenes Fællesråd |
| KF | Den kristelige fagbevægelse |

Finland

| | |
|---------------------------|---|
| AFF | Anarkosyndikalistisk Federation i Finland - Anarkosyndikalistinen Federaatio - Finnish section of the Int. Workers of the World |
| FFC/SAK | Finlands Fackförbunds Centralorganisation |
| AKAVA | Akademikernes faglige landsorganisasjon i Finland |
| FTFC/STTK | Tjänstemannacentralorganisationen |

Færøyene

| | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| FA | Føroya Arbeidarafelag |
|--------------------|-----------------------|

Island

| | |
|----------------------|------------------------------------|
| ASI | Althydusamband Islands |
| BSRB | Bandalag Starfsmanna Ríkis og Bæja |

Norge

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| AFN | Anarkosyndikalistisk Føderasjon i Norge - Norwegian section of the International Workers of the World |
| LO | Landsorganisasjonen |
| UHO | Utdanningsgruppens Hovedorganisasjon |
| YS | Yrkesorganisasjonenes Sentralforbund |

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| Akademikern e | Akademikerne |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|

| | |
|------------------------------|--|
| Alle forbund | Liste over alle forbund, inkludert frittstående organisasjoner |
|------------------------------|--|

Sverige

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| AFS | Anarkosyndikalistisk Federation i Sverige - Swedish section of the International Workers of the World |
| LO | Landsorganisationen i Sverige |
| SAC | Sveriges Arbetares Centralorganisation - Syndikalisterna (tidligere tilsluttet IWA/AIT/IAA, se ovenfor) |

[SACO](#)
[TCO](#)

Sveriges Akademikers Centralorganisation
Tjänstemännens Centralorganisation

365596

*) The International Workers of the World has a boycott going against the American and major national union of the Industrial-WW, because of intrigues and smearstories against the International-WW and the Anarchist International in general, similar to Marx's intrigues and smearstories against Bakunin in the First International. Thus we have put up their British homepage URL here instead of the official US-site. Source for some of the material above is Labor Start/FAFO. WEBMASTER WSC-IFA

The Anarchist International (AI) L'Internationale des Fédérations Anarchistes (IFA) The International of the Federations of Anarchists (IFA) The International of Anarchist Federations (IAF) The International Federations of Anarchists (IFA) The International Federation of Anarchists (IFA)

L'INTERNATIONALE DES FÉDÉRATIONS ANARCHISTES

THE ANARCHIST INTERNATIONAL

DEN ANARKISTISKE INTERNASJONALE

A documentary of the IFA-IAF-AI congresses from 1968-1984 etc.

En dokumentasjon av IFA-AI kongressene fra 1968-1984 etc.

A multilingual documentation in Scandinavian, French, Spanish and English

AI - IFA- IAF is rooted back to the 1st International's (i.e. the International Workingmen's Association) conference at Saint-Imier, in The Swiss Confederation, 15-16.09.1872. At this conference it was decided an anarchist resolution denouncing all forms of political power, i.e. political/administrative and economically broadly defined. Also a solidarity and fellowship pact was decided upon by the delegates. The anarchist international had meetings several times during the years passing by, see <http://www.anarchy.no/iwwai.html> for more information

The Anarchist International (IFA) was reorganized at a congress in Carrara (Italy) 31.08-05.09.1968. The purpose of the congress was, among other things, to create a world wide anarchist organization as an alternative to "Cohn Bendit et autres gauchistes", also called "the children of Marx". Anarchists were

tired of people presenting basically marxist ideas as anarchism. In the following years, several congresses were organized.

In 1997 the term Anarchist International (AI) was officially introduced, although mentioned several times before, say, in International Journal of Anarchism, IJ@ no 10/26 (15) in 1985. The constitution of the Anarchist International AI was officially confirmed on the International Anarchist Congress, i.e. the 5th Anarchist Biennial, arranged by the NAC/IFA/AI in Oslo medio December 1998. The AI is a broader organization and network than the IFA anarchist federations of some countries in the South and North.

The *International Journal of Anarchism*, IJ@, is the only officially mandated and publicly registered organ of the Anarchist International AI-IFA-IAF. *L'Internationale Anarchoféministe*, i@f, the Anarcha-Feminist International, founded 1982, is also affiliated to the AI. There are also sections/federations for support work, community action, research and other tendencies of anarchism broadly defined, founded in 1982, i.e. the anarchosyndicalist *International Workers of the World* - IWW/AI, etc.

1. IFA-kongressene i 1968 og 1971 - The IFA/IAF congresses in 1968 and 1971

IFA (L'Internationale des Fédérations Anarchistes) tok utgangspunkt i den 1. Internasjonales konferanse i Saint-Imier, Sveits, den 15/9 1872. På denne konferansen ble det vedtatt en anarkistisk resolusjon som tok avstand fra enhver form for politisk makt. Dessuten vedtok de delegerte en vennskaps- og solidaritetspakt.

IFA ble nyorganisert på en kongress i Carrara i Italia den 31/8-5/9 1968. Hensikten med kongressen var å danne en verdensomspennende anarkistisk organisasjon som et alternativ til "Cohn Bendit et autres gauchistes". En hadde sett seg lei på at Cohn Bendit og andre venstreekstremister - noen ganger kalt "barn av Marx", feilaktig presenterte marxistisk tankegods som anarkisme. [31/8-5/9 er CRIFA's datoer. Biblioteket CIRA's arkiver i Lausanne, i Den sveitsiske konføderasjon, opererer med et noe lengre tidsrom: "Congreso internacional de federaciones anarquistas: Celebrado en Carrara (Italia) del 30 de agosto al 8 de septiembre 1968".]

På den andre IFA-kongressen, i Paris 1-4/8 1971, ble resolusjonene fra den første kongressen ratifiserte. Det ble slått fast at "la base ideologique de l'I.F.A. sera essentiellement anarchiste", og det ble dermed igjen markert avstand til

"gauchistes", dvs marxister som benyttet frihetlig retorikk for å markedsføre sine autoritære idéer.

2. IFA-kongressen i 1978 - The IFA/IAF congress in 1978

Den tredje IFA-kongressen ble avholdt 23-27/3 1978 i Carrara, hvor IFA-prinsippene ble vedtatt:

"Ce sont les principes suivants: Négation de l'autorité et de tout pouvoir; Négation de la hierarchie; Négation des lois juridiques; Liberte, Egalite, Solidarite, Justice sociale, Contrat libre, Libre initiative, Atheisme, Antimilitarisme, Internationalisme, Decentralisme, Autonomie et federalisme, Autogestione et communisme libertaire. La négation de l'autorité et de tout pouvoir est le principe essentiel et le signe distinctif de l'anarchisme et du mouvement anarchiste. Tous les autres principes libertaires découlent de cette négation de l'autorite et du pouvoir...

L'internationale des Fédérations Anarchistes (I.F.A.) est constituée par des Fédérations - une par pays. Ces Fédérations jouissent de pleine autonomie dans leurs structures et dans leur fonctionnement intérieur, mais elles sont solidaires entre elles en vertu du pacte d'association commun, volontairement et librement accepté, qui constitue partie intégrante de cette déclaration de principe de l'anarchisme social."

Disse ble siden knyttet an til det økonomisk-politiske kartet: "These principles of social ideal anarchism constitute a leading star for anarchism in general, i.e. communist, collectivist and individualist anarchism, as well as social individualist anarchism, practical social anarchy, anarchism and federalism included."

Følgende ble vedtatt om utviklingen av en anarkistisk samfunnsvitenskapelig analyse:

"Alors que les principes de l'anarchisme restent inchangeables, qu'ils affirment l'incompatibilité de l'anarchisme avec le marxisme, que celui ci soit dogmatique ou non; alors qu'il ne remet pas en cause la chaîne logique de la pensée qui, partant de la théorie aboutit à la pratique ou à la reconnaissance du pouvoir étatique, ainsi que toutes les théories autoritaires présentées sous une forme libérale, ces principes de base de l'anarchisme réaffirmés, nous reconnaissons la possibilité d'effectuer une analyse anarchiste nouvelle, suivant les conditions socio-économiques contemporaines.

Cette analyse, conçue comme critique anarchiste et non comme critique de l'anarchisme, peut se mouvoir, par exemple, dans le cadre suivant, non limitatif: analyse différente du 19ème siècle, évaluant le rôle actuel de l'Etat, de la composition et des rapports entre les classes, de l'évolution de la science et de sa vulgarisation, du rôle de cette dernière dans le renforcement de l'aliénation,

de l'utilisation des mass-média par l'Etat et les partis, des formes alternatives tendant à transformer la vie quotidienne."

Igjen ble det altså fastslått at anarkismen og marxismen er uforenelige og inkompatible. De sosio-økonomiske rangs- og inntektsanalysene som brukes til det økonomisk-politiske kartet, og de matematiske analysene i denne sammenheng, har en forankring i dette vedtaket. Det nevnes også andre temaer for anarkistisk kritikk av samfunnet.

3. IFA-kongressene i 1982, 1983 og 1984 - The IFA/IAF congresses in 1982, 1983 and 1984

A. The Foundation of the Northern section(s) of IFA/IAF

The foundation of the Northern section(s) of IFA/IAF started with the affiliation of the Anarchist Federation of Norway. This is documented, among other things, in the Bulletin C.R.I.F.A., the official organ of IFA at that time. The "Commision de rédaction de bulletin CRIFA 145 Rue Amelot 75011 Paris France" and "C.R.I.F.A. Umberto Marzocchi Casella Postale no 22 17100 Savona (Italia)" were responsible for the publication. C.R.I.F.A. is the "Commission de relations de l'internationale des fédérations anarchistes". In C.R.I.F.A. Bulletin no 39 avril-mai 1982 p. 10 the following was reported:

DÉCLARATION D'ADHÉSION A L'INTERNATIONALE DES FÉDÉRATIONS ANARCHISTES / IFA DE LA PART DE LA FÉDÉRATION ANARCHISTE DE NORVÈGE / ANORG

L'ANORG a été fondée à Oslo le 13 mars 1977 et a été depuis la seule organisation anarchiste de Norvège. et, ensemble avec la petite fédération syndicaliste NSF/AIT, les seules organisations libertaires dans tout le pays. L'ANORG, a des adhérents dans tout le pays. Nous vous joignons notre journal extérieur "Folkebladet" organe de l'ANORG, et nous avons également un bulletin intérieur.

Même si vous ne comprenez pas ce qui est écrit, nous pensons qu'il peut être intéressant que vous voyiez ce que les anarchistes norvégiens font.

L'ANORG a été invité par des anarchistes danois à rejoindre l'IFA. Congrès du 23-27 mars 1978, mais nous avons décidé avant d'avoir plus d'expérience et d'être capable d'y participer autant que les autres fédérations. Cependant le 15 janvier 1979 l'ANORG a voté à l'unanimité de rejoindre l'IFA sur les principes approuvés par le 3e congrès de l'IFA. Mais maintenant nous pensons qu'il est temps de participer au travail international sur un pied d'égalité avec les autres fédérations anarchistes. - Fédération anarchiste de Norvège.

A note about the founding date: "Foregangsgruppa i ANORG" - the interim group in the Anarchist Federation, rooted back to *Kultursyndikatet*, the Culture Syndicat in the late 1960'ties, had worked for several years as a loose network to found an anarchist federation, without semilibertarian marxists and liberal/individualists. *Foregangsgruppa* was formally founded 13 Mars 1977. This group did a lot of work to join the forces of the different groups and individuals of the anarchist movement, and after a wide debate, arranged the statutory general meeting of the federation, "stiftelsesmøtet", Tuesday 13. September 1977. Thus, Anarkistføderasjonen i Norge (AFIN) - Anarkistenes Organisasjon (i Norge) - ANORG, the Anarchist Federation of Norway, was finally founded 13.09.1977. Folkebladet was founded in 1971, and had been the organ of different groups, before it became the organ of the Anarchist Federation. It had also been distributed internationally, mainly in Scandinavia.

The affiliation to IFA recorded in Bulletin C.R.I.F.A. no 39 avril-mai 1982, was confirmed in a letter from C.R.I.F.A. Umberto Marzocchi, dated 12th of May 1982 and another letter 09.11.1982. The first letter also urged the first Nordic Anarchist Congress. The term "Nordic" means Northern, i.e. in the North in general, as confirmed on a later congress. **The Northern section(s) of IFA was founded at the first Nordic anarchist congress in Oslo, 15-18 October 1982. The Bulletin C.R.I.F.A no 42 novembre-février 1982 declared :**

(There were a Spanish (p. 4) and an English (p. 5) report in this issue of the Bulletin C.R.I.F.A, but the Spanish version seems to be the most correct of the two, compared to the Swedish and Norwegian reports printed in Folkebladet, and other material. Thus we will quote the Spanish version here. Where the English version is more precise, this is noted in [...] brackets):

EL PRIMER CONGRESO ANARQUISTA NÓRDICO

El primer congreso anarquista nórdico se ha celebrado del 15 al 17 de octubre del [19]82 en Oslo (Folkets Hus, Youngstorget). Ha estado organizado por la ANORG/IFA (Federación anarquista noruega afiliada a la IFA). Este congreso se ha celebrado según el deseo de Umberto Marzocchi, secretario de la [IFA]/CRIFA, siendo expresado en una carta el 12 de mayo del [19]82 a la ANORG. Estaban presentes los delegados de varios países nórdicos así que los observadores de la SAC (Sveriges Arbetares Centralorganisation) ... y un representante de la Federación anarquista francesa [a delegate from the French Anarchist Federation (FAF/IFA), was also present].

El principal tema de este congreso ha sido la cooperación anarquista nórdica. El acuerdo se ha hecho sobre la aceptación de una cooperación muy ampllia. La cooperación ideológica [political] económica y cultural ha sido enfocada sobre

los puntos siguientes: la acción de los anarquistas en los sindicatos, el movimiento colectivista, cooperativista, el movimiento ecologista, feminista, el apoyo a los jóvenes... [political solidarity work (for instance the Anarchist Black Cross)] y a los movimientos que luchan contra el alcoholismo y la droga. Ha sido abordado también todo el trabajo a efectuar concerniendo la documentación y el análisis... La meta a alcanzar es la adhesión de los anarquistas a una sección nórdica de la IFA a través de sus propias Federaciones nacionales. A este fin el congreso unánime decide la puesta en marcha de un secretariado nórdico de la IFA. Por el momento ese papel será tenido por el secretariado administrativo [the expeditionary group] de la ANORG.... Los anarquistas que quieran adherir a la IFA podrán hacerlo teniendo como intermediario el secretariado nórdico de la IFA. Estos anarquistas se encontrarán en la misma situación con respecto a la IFA que los miembros de la ANORG (decisiones, cotizaciones, etc.)

El secretariado nórdico publicará ocho bolígrafos al año que serán adjuntos a Folkebladet ... o sea al boletín interior, o bien según el caso, un espacio será reservado en sus publicaciones para las informaciones procedentes del secretariado...

El secretariado nórdico a través del boletín deberá contribuir a organizar actividades comunes, entre otras, congresos, conferencias, tribunas anarquistas, simposios, seminarios, encuentros estivales y actividades culturales... El secretariado deberá encargarse de la coordinación de las actividades [direct actions of different kinds] nórdicas.

El primer número del "Boletín Nórdico" editado por el congreso, ha sido publicado en suplement del número 4 de Folkebladet (año 1982). Su título es "IFA-Solidaritet" (órgano de las secciones nórdicas de la IFA).

(The reports were signed by the COMMISSION DE REDACTION DU BULLETIN CRIFA. Editors note)

The conclusion of these documents recorded in Bulletin C.R.I.F.A no 39 avril-mai and no 42 novembre-février 1982, is that the Anarchist Federation of Norway - Anarkistføderasjonen i Norge (AFIN) - Anarkistenes organisasjon (i Norge) ANORG, was affiliated to IFA/IAF from 15.01 1979 with the organ "Folkebladet", and that the Northern Section(s) of IFA was/were founded and affiliated to IFA/IAF 15-17.10.1982, with the bulletin "IFA-Solidaritet", IAF-Solidarity, published in close connection to Folkebladet. The Northern section(s)' affiliation to IFA, was/were also confirmed on later IFA-congresses arranged in Oslo, and documented in issues of Bulletin C.R.I.F.A and IFA-Solidaritet, the two officially and mandated organs of IFA at that time. Furthermore, there were no opposition to these decisions recorded in the Bulletin C.R.I.F.A and IFA-Solidaritet, so they were decided by **general concent**.*) Some of the new Northern sections of IFA, i.e. the Danish, the Swedish and the Finnish, were in one year's time refounded as IFA-federations,

i.e. in 1983. This was unanimously decided upon by a general ballot, referendum, among the members of the Northern sections. This is recorded in IFA-Solidaritet, which was distributed to the other IFA/IAF-sections, among other things, via the C.R.I.F.A. The documents also implies that the IFA-secretariate in Oslo was not considered as a sub-secretariate to C.R.I.F.A, but on equal footing, i.e. as commissions for the Northern and Southern sections respectively.

Furthermore the ANORG's programs and federations/sections of anarcha-feminism, green/eco-anarchism, anarcho-syndicalism, the affiliations to the Community Action Network, CAN, and the Anarchist Black Cross, ABC, from the 1970s, and the federations for collectivist and communist/commune anarchism; social-, social-individualist and federalist anarchism, as well as individualist and mutualist anarchism, were made valid for the North in general, as the Northern sections of IFA/IAF adopted the programs of ANORG, and the IFA-IAF secretariate in the North was established. All these sections founded in 1982 were further developed and confirmed on later congresses as sections of the Anarchist International in general, say, L'Internationale Anarchoféministe, i@f, the Anarcha-Feminist International, the sections/federations for support work, community action, research and other tendencies of anarchism broadly defined, i.e. the anarchosyndicalist International Workers of the World - IWW/AI, the Anarchist Black Cross International - ABC-I, etc. As mentioned, the Northern IFA-secretariate was considered autonomous and on equal footing with the one in the South, but in solidarity some money were paid to the South from the North, say, as documented in the Bulletin C.R.I.F.A No 47 mars-avril 1984, p.2, where it is reported on the accounting for money received: "30/9/83 Secrétariat nordique IFA, Oslo (Norvege) 21 321." It sounds like a lot of money, but it was not NOK or US\$, but Italian Lira, so it was not so much. However the anarchists in the North in general are not among the plutarchs, so the NAC has not too much money for own activities either.

The **anarcha feminist**-program and federation/section were already established at the 3rd ANORG congress 1-7.06.1982. The 12 pages program called "Anarko feminismen", and the founding of the section/federation "Anarkofeministene" of ANORG, are documented in Folkebladet no 1-1982. This program was summarizing the research front on anarcha-feminism in a consistent way, rejecting outdated hypothesis, and bringing in some new. It was based on the following earlier works: Carol Ehrlich: Socialism, Anarchism and Feminism, Black Bear, London. Lynne Farrow: Feminism and Anarchism, Black Bear London. Jo Freeman: Tyranny of the Structurelessness, AWA (Anarchist Workers Association), Humberside. Peggy Kornegger: Anarchism: The Feminist Connection, Black Bear, London. Kytha Kurin: Anarcha-Feminism - Why the Hyphen?, Open Road no 11, Summer 1980. Emma Goldman: Kjærlighet eller ekteskap? Anarkistisk lesebok, PAX 1970. Louise Michel: Kvinnens doble kamp, Folkebladet 1-1981 and Folkebladet 1-1981: Anarko-feminismen, plus the Anarchist Manifesto of ANORG, and other feministical and anarchistical works.

The summary of this 12 pages program called " Det Anarkofeministiske Manifest" was published in Folkebladet no 1-1983/IFA-Solidaritet no 2-1983, and later in Bulletin C.R.I.F.A. No 44 mars-avril 1983 p. 12. in French. An English translation was also available. It was discussed and adopted with general consent by the Anarchist International and the anarcha-feminists of IFA in general. In 1984 the Anarcha-Feminist Manifesto was presented at the International Anarchist Gathering/Conference in Venice, discussed and thus more widely accepted, as several thousand participated there. Later it was quoted a bit and discussed in the Noam Chomsky et. al.'s journal, "Our Generation" 1 (17), Fall/Winter 1985-86, by Marsha Hewitt in an article about "Emma Goldman: The Case for Anarcho-feminism". This is also printed in "The Anarchist Papers", Black Rose Books (USA and Canada) 1986, edited by Dimitrios Roussopoulos, a book declaring it "brings together several well known anarchists and libertarian socialists in an invaluable resource...". A new edition of this book is also available.

The "Manifeste Anarchoféministe" was also published in a larger socialist paper in France, and thus the anarcha-feminists of NAC-ANORG became quite well known in this country also outside the libertarian network. Later a group, at that time located in Germany, translated it to Iranian language, and probably distributed it in Iran as well as to Iranians in Germany. We guess it is still very much needed in Iran, but it is perhaps indexed. Anyway no Fatvah is sent to the Anarcha-Feminist International so far. Later on the "Manifeste Anarchoféministe" was spread more or less world wide, presented and discussed at different meetings, conferences and collections on feminism, anarchism and anarcha-feminism, used as a framework for actions, and by now it is also presented at several web-pages on the Internet. The manifesto has also influenced other political groups' programs and actions. It is still equally valid, not a single hypothesis of the anarcha-feminist program is rejected by sound arguments so far. 08.03.2002 the Anarchafeminist International celebrated the 20 years anniversary of their manifesto, and the foundation of the i@f in 1982.

In 1983 there were 4 Northern (Norwegian, Swedish, Danish and Finnish) and 3 Southern federations (French, Italian and Iberian) in IFA/IAF plus the UAB (Bulgarian Anarchist Union) and the Northern sections outside Scandinavia. In the following years the Bulletin C.R.I.F.A declined in number of issues and quality, and it was necessary to do something to keep up the anarchist international information service. In 1984 Folkebladet and IFA-Solidaritet were gathered in one publication, and the name **International Journal of Anarchism** was introduced. At the same time the distribution started to develop world wide, not only in Scandinavia. Also "Brand", the Swedish anarchist paper of AFIS/APF, and later "International Journal of Organization Research", the organ of IIFOR, were included in IJA.

Since the IJA is a direct follower of Folkebladet, the volumes of the journal are counted from the founding of Folkebladet in 1971. Thus, issues of the volumes are noted as the number of the issue, plus the volume number, say 1 (31) for the first number of the 31st volume, i.e. year 2001. These changes were also

confirmed on the later Northern IFA congresses. During the last part of the 1980s the Bulletin C.R.I.F.A declined further, and finally finished publishing. Thus International Journal of Anarchism became the only officially mandated and publicly registered organ for the anarchist international IFA/IAF and the anarchist movement in general. The international journal registration number of IJA is ISSN 0800-0220. In 1996 IJA was introduced on Internet, and since 1998 it has been an electronic online-journal, distributed on the Internet and/or by e-mail world wide to anarchists and others with interest of anarchist information. There will however also be issues on paper distributed to IFA-sections and others interested in anarchy, anarchist(s) and anarchism internationally, that do not have access to e-mail or internet. IJ@ is also the organ of the International Anarchist Tribunal, founded in 1982.

The mandate for the International Journal of Anarchism, in **addition** to what is mentioned above, is similar to the mandate made for the Bulletin C.R.I.F.A. in the old days, decided by the International of Anarchist Federations IAF/'Internationale des Fédérations Anarchistes IFA, updated to the modern IT-age:

We call again the decisions that have been taken at congresses of the Anarchist International IAF/IFA. After a long discussion about the development of IFA/IAF, and the best way to maintain links between the anarchists in the world, the next points have been decided:

- The IJ@ will be sent to the whole international libertarian movement (organizations, papers, reviews,...);

The IJ@ will be written in several languages: French, English, Spanish, Scandinavian, etc. and articles should be provided with an English summary. The summary may be omitted if the article is short and written in English;

- Circulars will be sent to the sections to discuss particular points and to convene reunions of work;

- Reunion of work convened by the joining sections, with summary in order to prepare these reunions. An objective of these reunions are to prepare new conferences of international campaigns.

- Internet and e-mail are suitable means to reach these ends.

In 1997 the term **Anarchist International** was introduced. The constitution of the Anarchist International AI was officially confirmed on the International Anarchist Congress, i.e. the 5th Anarchist Biennial, arranged by the NAC/IFA/AI in Oslo medio December 1998. The AI is a broader organization and network than the IFA anarchist federations of some countries in the South and North. The ***International Journal of Anarchism, IJ@***, is the only officially mandated and publicly registered organ of the **Anarchist International** AI-IFA-IAF. This is a wider concept than the IFA/IAF meaning the affiliated federations. The Anarchist International is based on the IFA/IAF-federations, i.e. mainly in

Europe, but also includes groups and individuals that are anarchists or interested in anarchist information broadly defined all over the world. The purpose of this is to work stand by for one affiliated anarchist federation in each country, so the International may be a really anarchist alternative to the UN, i.e. for the whole world. Furthermore the IJA is distributed not only to libertarians, but to "the people, anarchists and authorities world wide", including the international newsmedia. This is to inform the world of resolutions from anarchist-congresses, -conferences, -seminars, -tribunals and other activities, and to organize common actions to promote more anarchy and less authoritarian tendencies in the different countries.

*) As mentioned above the founding and membership of the Northern IFA-sections 1979-1982/3 were accepted by **general consent** throughout the rest of IFA, and thus it was of course **not** on the agenda at the congress in the South, i.e. Paris, 1986, as a few have misunderstood, where four elected delegates of the Northern IFA-sections participated by phone and written material was sent in advance, with the resolutions from the 4th IFA congress in Oslo, i.e. in the North, earlier same year, - (and not later).

B. MORE ABOUT THE FIRST AND THE SECOND NORTHERN IFA-CONGRESS

The documents referred in Bulletin C.R.I.F.A and IFA-Solidaritet/Folkebladet were only the **summary** of the decisions from the first Northern IFA-congress. In IFA-Solidaritet no 1 (1982) with the summaries from this international anarchist congress written in Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish and English, it is also declared on page 8: "Hvis du vil: Lese mer om det som skjedde på kongressen (Del 2). Ha flere detaljer om avtalene som ble inngått på kongressen... Kontakt: Nordisk IFA-sekretariat...". "If you want: To read more of what happened at the congress. Have more details of about the agreements decided upon on the congress... Contact: The IFA secretariate in the North". There were more decisions, among other things, the following:

The first Nordic IFA-congress was also **the mandating IFA-congress for the International Anarchist Tribunal**, initiated by the general secretary of IFA at that time, i.e. the Italian C.R.I.F.A. secretary Umberto Marzocchi, in a letter to the nordic sections of IFA (ANORG) dated 12th of May 1982. The congress took place in Oslo 15-18th of October 1982, at "Folkets hus", i.e. "The house of the people", and was arranged by the Norwegian Anarchist Federation affiliated to IFA. The first Nordic IFA-congress had two important tasks:

1. to promote the anarchist international outside the mediterranean area in general,
2. to mandate the international's anarchist tribunals to secure that the IFA stays anarchist.

From the Nordic countries broadly defined participated several anarchist groups and organizations, and nationalities (sections) from the Netherlands to Finland; and the mediterranean IFA-sections were represented by a delegation from Paris, i.e. from the French anarchist-federation "Fédération Anarchiste Francaise". Different kinds of anarchists; collectivists, individualists and communist anarchists, as well as green anarchists and international anarchafeminists had delegates (sections) at the congress. Also Sveriges Arbetares Centralorganisation (SAC) participated, as well as delegates from the IAA section of ANORG/IFA, a confederation rooted back to the Scandinavian anarcho-syndicalist organ "Solidaritet" which kept the bounds to the AIT when SAC left in 1959/60. (This does not mean that NAC/ANORG is a member of IAA/AIT. It means that anarchosyndicalists that were or are affiliated to an IAA/AIT-section, also were affiliated to the congress/ANORG/IFA).

The mandate for the anarchist tribunals was unanimously decided upon, and referred (however without details) in IFA-Solidaritet, later renamed International Journal of Anarchism, vol 1982 a.s.o. and the Bulletin C.R.I.F.A. (42) 1982, the two official organs of IFA at that time. This issue of the Bulletin C.R.I.F.A was also distributed as a supplement to the French anarchist paper "Le Monde Libertaire" (467). An English translation was also distributed. In the mentioned issue of Bulletin C.R.I.F.A. the following is documented:

"El primer congreso anarquista nordico se ha celebrado del 15 al 17 de octubre del 82 en Oslo. Ha estado organizado por la ANORG/IFA (Federación anarquista noruega afiliada a la IFA)... El secretariado nórdico a través del boletín deberá contribuir a organizar actividades comunes, entre otras, ..., **tribunas anarquistas [i.e. the International Anarchist Tribunal]**, ... " The bulletin, "Su título es "IFA-Solidaritet" (órgano de las secciones nórdicas de la IFA)" (Bold lettering and explaining note in [...] sat by editor.)

The mandate included the UN-human rights and ethics interpreted in an anarchist way, media tribunals, anarchist decision processing and conflict solution, including a confederal veto on ratification of federal decisions and constitution, i.e. based on the IFA-principles a.s.o., membership acknowledgement and exclusions/expulsions, etc. The international anarchist **ombudsman** for conflict solution and the **arbitration tribunal**, are also among the branches of IAT. The practical details of the mandate were left to the International Anarchist Tribunal itself, as an independent and autonomous institution at the IFA secretariate in Oslo.

The Anarchist Tribunal was already an established institution in Norway in 1982, as a part of the expeditionary group (secretariate) of ANORG. In the early 1980s the activities was mainly internal, but some of the works of the Anarchist Tribunal, i.e. vis-à-vis the media, were also published in Folkebladet/IJ@, see no 1 (13) 1983 and no 3 (13) 1983. The IFA congress in Oslo 1982 made it an **international** tribunal. Thus, it became de facto the **International Anarchist Tribunal - IAT**, although the word "international" was usually not explicitly mentioned in the early days.

The framework for the Oslo Convention of 1990 was prepared by the International Anarchist Tribunal, and is a good example of the mandated work. The proposals from IAT were unanimously decided upon by the international congress-seminar, the **1st Anarchist Biennial**, i.e. the first combined IFA & FICEDL Congress arranged in Oslo 1990.

The only officially mandated organ of IFA/IAF/AI of today, i.e. for the whole world, the *International Journal of Anarchism* ISSN 0800-0220, is also the organ of the International Anarchist tribunal, and has the copyright/TM of the original IFA-logo, with the globe as the dot over the "i" in "ifa". *All information at the official ifa/iaf/ai/AIIS web-site is the copyrighted material of International Journal of Anarchism ISSN 0800-0220 (c) fb@ - all rights reserved 1996 a.l.*

In 1997 the term *Anarchist International* (AI) was *officially* introduced, although mentioned several times before, say, in *International Journal of Anarchism*, IJ@ no 10/26 (15) in 1985. The constitution of the Anarchist International AI was officially confirmed on the International Anarchist Congress, i.e. the 5th Anarchist Biennial, arranged by the NAC/IFA/AI in Oslo medio December 1998. The AI is a broader organization and network than the IFA anarchist federations of some countries in the South and North, see <http://www.anarchy.no/ai.html>. The mandate of the IAT is today vis-à-vis the AI, decided on the 5th Anarchist Biennial in 1998.

På IFA-kongressen i 1982 ble det også vedtatt flere mandater for IFA-sekretariaet i Oslo, bl.a retten til å arrangere kongresser, seminarer, symposier og konferanser, samt utgivelse av bulletinen IFA-Solidaritet, senere endret til *International Journal of Anarchism* - FB ISSN 0800 0220:

"El primer congreso anarquista nórdico se ha celebrado del 15 al 17 de octubre del 82 en Oslo. Ha estado organizado por la ANORG/IFA (Federación anarquista noruega afiliada a la IFA)... El secretariado nórdico a través del boletín deberá contribuir a organizar actividades comunes, entre otras, congresos, conferencias, tribunas anarquistas, simposios, seminarios, encuentros estivales y actividades culturales. El congreso ha decidido que la ANORG organizará un encuentro nórdico la segunda semana de julio del 83." Bulletin, "Su título es "IFA-Solidaritet" (órgano de las secciones nórdicas de la IFA)", ble knyttet til utgivelsen av Folkebladet. Kilde: Bulletin C.R.I.F.A (42) 1982.

Samtidig ble det opprettet tre IFA-seksjoner (pre-føderasjoner) for Danmark, Sverige og Finland, som kom i tillegg til den norske seksjonen, som alt var en føderasjon, tilsluttet IFA. Det ble også etterhvert etablert et nettverk av IFA-seksjoner i Nord mer generelt.

På kongressen 10-16/6 1983 ble mandatet til IFA-sekretariatet i Oslo presisert til å gjelde landene i nord generelt, og ikke bare de skandinaviske land:

"Nordic matters are questions which affect more than one of the countries of the North considerably and concretely... The nordic sections of the IFA take as their program of further efforts: a) the resolutions from the 1st nordic anarchist congress, which in their turn are build on the principles of the IFA and the program and decisions of ANORG/IFA; b) the reported resolutions from the 2nd nordic congress." Kilde: Bulletin C.R.I.F.A (46) 1983.

Den 26/11-1983 ble, ved uravstemning i IFAs nordiske seksjoner, Anarkistføderasjonen i Norge (AFIN) også kalt ANarkistenes ORGanisasjon - ANORG/IFA [medlem av IFA fra 1979, jevnfør Bulletin C.R.I.F.A No(39) 1982 og No (42) 1983], Anarkistføderasjonen i Sverige (AFIS), Anarkistføderasjonen i Danmark (AFID) og Suomen Anarkistifederaatio (SA) - Anarkistføderasjonen i Finland (AFIF), tilsluttet både IFA og Anarkistenes Organisasjon i Norden (ANORG-konføderasjonen - The Northern Anarchist Confederation - NAC). Vedtaket var enstemmig. "ANORG er nå forkortelse for ANarkistenes ORGanisasjon i Norden" ble det fastslått i IFA-Solidaritet (8) 1983. Anarkistføderasjonen i Norge forkortes gjerne til A.NORG eller AFIN for å skille denne fra den nordiske konføderasjonen (ANORG/NAC).

C. UTVIKLINGEN I 1984 OG VIDERE - THE DEVELOPMENT IN 1984 AND FURTHER

I 1984 ble mandatet utvidet til tilsvarende organisering på verdensbasis, og "IFA-Solidaritet"/fb ble i denne sammenheng omdannet til "International Journal of Anarchism". Dette hadde sin årsak i at Bulletin C.R.I.F.A kom stadig sjeldnere og med dårligere trykk/kopiering, og i det hele tatt svekket internasjonal aktivitet fra de sørlige IFA-føderasjonenes side, mindre forbindelse mellom Norden og Paris og Italia. På slutten av 1980-årene stoppet C.R.I.F.A. bulletinen etterhvert helt opp, og IJA ble det eneste offisielt mandaterte og offentlig registrerte organ for anarkistinternasjonalen IFA/IAF, og den internasjonale anarkistbevegelsen generelt.

Det ble fra NACs side enighet om å satse mer på utvikling fra den nordlige seksjonen, utover i verden, uten dermed å gå middelhavslanternes føderasjoner direkte i næringen. Det ble etterhvert tatt flere kontakter i Nederland, Polen, Portugal, Canada, USA, Israel, Australia etc. bl.a via det såkalte FICEDL nettverket. Beslutningene ble ratifisert på **den tredje IFA-kongressen i Oslo 6/10 1984**, jevnfør International Journal of Anarchism (tidligere IFA-Solidaritet) FB (2) 1984.

Folkebladet, IFA-Solidaritet og International Journal of Anarchism ble altså slått sammen til et blad, for å øke effektiviteten og spare på kostnadene. Også det svenske anarkistorganet "Brand" til APF/AFIS og senere "International Journal of Organization Research", organet til IIFOR, ble tatt opp i International Journal of Anarchism/folkebladet. Nummereringen fulgte Folkebladet, slik at man fikk mest mulig kontinuerlige årganger fra Folkebladet ble startet i 1971. Dermed regner **International Journal of Anarchism** sine årganger fra 1971. NAC

satser på "horizontal organization on equal footing, and co-operation without coercion" generelt i et **internasjonalt nettverk** av IFA-seksjoner/føderasjoner, og innad i Norden. I 1986 ble **den fjerde nordiske IFA-kongressen** holdt, like før de sørlige føderasjonene pluss UAB holdt sin fjerde kongress i Paris. Resolusjonene fra den nordlige IFA-kongress ble sendt til Paris, som forslag til videre samarbeid, og IFA-sekretariatet i Oslo deltok på kongressen som en delegasjon via telefon, (fire delegater var demokratisk valgt til å framføre synspunktene fra Nord), men responsen var svak og det kom ikke noen nye skriftlige samarbeidsavtaler eller felles vedtak ut av det. Det har vist seg vanskelig å få igang felles aksjoner mellom nord og sør. I Nord var det støtteaksjoner bl.a for Radio Libertaire i Paris, da den var i krise, og det ble også sendt noe solidarisk pengestøtte til C.R.I.F.A, men da Nordseksjonen trengte internasjonal solidaritet til en streik i Danmark, var det ingen oppfølging fra Sør, til tross for gjentatte henvendelser.

Det har imidlertid vært utveksling av informasjon mellom den nordlige IFA-seksjonen og den sørlige, og kommer det en sak som har felles interesse, kan det igjen bli snakk om et nærmere samarbeid. En slik sak dukket opp i 2001. Etter en lengre periode med ganske labert samarbeide mellom nord og sør, ble det igjen mer fart i sakene med felles støtteaksjoner for anarkister, inkludert anarko-syndikalister, i Argentina, se IJ@ nr 6 (31) på <http://www.anarchy.no/ija631.html> . Denne kooperative samaksjonen fortsetter også i 2002. IFA-sekretariatet i Nord, som også huser Anarkist Internasjonalens generelle sekretariat, samt Internett-sekretariat og kommisjon, har også gått i bresjen for støtteaksjoner for anarkisten og forfatteren Edgar Rodrigues, som har blitt mobbet og boikottet av sin fagforening i Brazil.

Det ble avholdt en rekke internasjonale anarkistkongresser i, eller organisert fra, Oslo i siste halvdel av 1980-årene og i 1990 årene. **En toårlig serie av internasjonale kongress-seminarer**, som startet i 1990 (**Anarchist Biennials**) er viktig. I 1990 ble den internasjonalt berømte Oslo-konvensjonen vedtatt. I 1996 gikk NAC/Northern IFA-section(s) på nettet (Internett), primært for den nordlige delen av IFA, men også med web-sider for hele IFA. En side for det anarkistiske verdensnettverk kalt **Anarkist Internasjonalen (The Anarchist International, AI)** med knutepunkt i Oslo, er også etablert. AI er et videre nettverk enn det som består av de nasjonale anarkistføderasjonene i Sør og Nord i mer snever forstand. Sekretariatet kalles WSC-IFA, se link-siden til AIIS.

De fire nordlige IFA-føderasjonene pluss andre IFA-seksjoner, samlet i den nordlige anarkist-konføderasjonen, "International Journal of Anarchism", Det Internasjonale Anarkist-Tribunalet og "The Anarchist International Information Service (AIIS) of AI-IFA-IAF" dvs, IFA-sekretariatet og IJAs informasjonsbyrå, har offisielle web-sider på internett. Det er også en offisiell AI-IAF-IFA "links-site", og en side med de sørlige IFA-føderasjoner. Også syndikalistiske organisasjoner med mer eller mindre anarkistisk tilsnitt, er linket opp på denne siden. En "Black and Black&Red pages" for hele den internasjonale anarkistbevegelsen, Anarkist Internasjonalen, dvs for alle

landene/verdensdelene på jorden, "Øst-Vest, Nord-Sør", er som antydning over, også lagt ut på nettet og nye linker er under utarbeidelse, se <http://www.anarchy.no/ai.html> . I 1996 ble IFA-sekretariatets mandater gjort gjeldende på Internett, og The World Secretariate and Commission (WSC-IFA) ble opprettet, se <http://www.anarchy.no/wscifa.html> . Dette ble ratifisert på senere internasjonale anarkistkongresser.

Disse vedtakene utgjør et viktig grunnlag for den videre utvikling av Anarkistinternasjonalen, jevnfør AI/IFAs offisielle internett-sider på URL: www.anarchy.no . Det kan også komme sider for andre aktiviteter i samsvar med mandatene fra kongressene i fremtiden, bl.a egne kongress-, konferanse- og seminar-sider. Blant annet er det påtenkt sider for grønn/øko-anarkisme, "community action", samt for hovedretningene kollektivistisk anarkisme, individualistisk/mutualistisk anarkisme, frihetlig kommunistisk og kommune-anarkisme og sosial-individualistisk anarkisme, sosial-anarkisme/føderalisme inkludert. Det er allerede egne web-sider for internasjonalens anarko-feminister, anarko-syndikalister, Frihetlig Rusfritt Forbund, og for ulike aksjonsgrupper i Norge og internasjonalt. En ABC-International side og en side for **det internasjonale anarkistiske forsknings-nettverket** er også under utarbeidelse.

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MAY DAY - THE LABOR DAY

May 1st, International Workers' Day, commemorates the historic struggle of working people throughout the world, and is recognized in most countries. The United States of America and Canada are among the exceptions. This despite the fact that the holiday began in the 1880s in the USA, linked to **the battle for the eight-hour day**, and **the Chicago anarchists**.

The struggle for the eight-hour day began in the 1860s. In 1884, the ***Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada***, organized in 1881 (and changing its name in 1886 to ***American Federation of Labor***) passed a resolution which asserted that *"eight hours shall constitute a legal day's work from and after May 1, 1886, and that we recommend to labor organizations throughout this district that they so direct their laws as to conform to this resolution"*. The following year the Federation repeated the declaration that an eight-hour system was to go into effect on May 1, 1886. With workers being forced to work ten, twelve, and fourteen hours a day, support for the eight-hour movement grew rapidly. In the months prior to May 1, 1886, thousands of workers, organized and unorganized, members of the organization ***Knights of Labor*** and of the federation, were drawn into the struggle. Chicago was the main center of the agitation for a shorter day. The anarchists were in the forefront of the ***Central Labor Union of Chicago*** , which consisted of 22 unions in 1886, among them the seven largest in the city. During the Railroad strikes of 1877, the workers had been violently attacked by the police and the United States Army. A similar tactic of **state terrorism** was prepared by the bureaucracy to fight the eight-hour movement. The police and National Guard were increased in size and received new and powerful weapons financed by local business leaders. Chicago's Commercial Club purchased a \$2000 machine gun for the Illinois National Guard to be used against strikers. Nevertheless, by May 1st, the movement had already won gains for many Chicago workers. But on May 3, 1886, police fired into a crowd of strikers at the McCormick Harvester Machine Company, killing at least one striker, seriously wounding five or six others, and injuring an undetermined number. Anarchists called for a mass meeting the next day in **Haymarket Square** to protest the brutality.

The meeting proceeded without incident, and by the time the last speaker was on the platform, the rainy gathering was already breaking up, with only about two hundred people remaining. It was then a police column of 180 men marched into the square and ordered the meeting to disperse. At the end of the meeting a bomb was thrown at the police, killing one instantly, six others died later. About seventy police officers were wounded. Police responded by firing into the crowd. How many civilians were wounded or killed from police bullets never was ascertained exactly. Although it was never determined who threw the bomb, the incident was used as an excuse to attack anarchists and the labor movement in general. Police ransacked the homes and offices of suspected radicals, and hundreds were arrested without charge. A reign of police terror swept over Chicago. Staging "raids" in the working-class districts, the police

rounded up all known anarchists and other socialists. "Make the raids first and look up the law afterward!" publicly counseled the state's attorney.

Anarchists in particular were harassed, and eight of Chicago's most active were charged with conspiracy to murder in connection with the Haymarket bombing. A kangaroo court found all eight guilty, **despite a lack of evidence** connecting any of them to the bomb-thrower, and they were sentenced to die. In October 9, 1886, the weekly journal ***Knights of Labor*** published in Chicago, carried on page 1 the following announcement: *"Next week we begin the publication of the lives of the anarchists advertised in another column."* The advertisement, carried on page 14, read: ***"The story of the anarchists, told by themselves; Parsons, Spies, Fielden, Schwab, Fischer, Lingg, Engle, Neebe. The only true history of the men who claim that they are condemned to suffer death for exercising the right of Free Speech: Their association with Labor, Socialistic and Anarchistic Societies, their views as to the aims and objects of these organizations, and how they expect to accomplish them; also their connection with the Chicago Haymarket Affair. Each man is the author of his own story, which will appear only in the "Knights of Labor" during the next three months, - the great labor paper of the United States, a 16-page weekly paper, containing all the latest foreign and domestic labor news of the day, stories, household hints, etc. A co-operative paper owned and controlled by members of the Knights of Labor, and furnished for the small sum of \$1.00 per annum . Address all communications to Knights of Labor Publishing Company, 163 Washington St., Chicago, Ill."*** Later this journal and the paper ***Alarm*** published the autobiographies of the Haymarket men.

Albert Parsons, August Spies, Adolf Fischer and George Engel were hanged on November 11, 1887. Louis Lingg committed suicide in prison. The authorities turned over the bodies to friends for burial, and one of the largest funeral processions in Chicago history was held. It was estimated that between 150,000 to 500,000 persons lined the route taken by the funeral cortege of the Haymarket martyrs. A monument to the executed men was unveiled June 25, 1893 at Waldheim Cemetery in Chicago. The remaining three, Samuel Fielden, Oscar Neebe and Michael Schwab, were finally pardoned in 1893.

On June 26, 1893, the governor of Illinois, John Peter Altgeld, issued the pardon message in which he made it clear that he was not granting the pardon because he believed that the men had suffered enough, but **because they were innocent** of the crime for which they had been tried, and that they and the hanged men had been the victims of hysteria, packed juries and a biased judge. He noted that the defendants were not proven guilty because the state *"has never discovered who it was that threw the bomb which killed the policeman, and the evidence does not show any connection whatsoever between the defendants and the man who threw it."*

It is not surprising that the state, business leaders, mainstream union officials, and the media would want to hide the true history of May Day. In its attempt to erase the history and significance of May Day, the United States government declared May 1st to be "Law Day", and gave the workers instead Labor Day, the first Monday of September - a holiday devoid of any historical significance.

Nevertheless, rather than suppressing the labor and anarchist movements, the events of 1886 and the execution of the Chicago anarchists, spokesmen of the

movement for the eight-hour day, mobilized many generations of radicals. Emma Goldman, a young immigrant at the time, later pointed to the Haymarket affair as her political birth. Instead of disappearing, the anarchist movement only grew in the wake of Haymarket.

As workers, we must recognize and commemorate May Day not only for its historical significance, but also as a time to organize around issues of vital importance to the working-class, i.e. the people, of today.

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ANARCHISM ... SO FAR

The Anarchy of Norway is still going strong

Some time has passed on since the Norwegian People turned their back against the main economic political course of the social democrat government, at the 1994 EU referendum. While the Norwegian EEC referendum in the early seventies gave a movement to the left on the economic political map, the megatrend of the late eighties and early nineties was a movement to the right and upwards. The EU referendum indicated a further jump in this direction, and thus the economic political system in Norway made a revolutionary change, and passed the border between the marxist social democrat sector and the anarchist sector of social individualism. This of course is a major social event in the economic political world history.

A long jump further rightwards may result in a social liberal system, and a reverse tendency may give a retardation to marxist social democracy, but this is not the case at the moment, and thus the living Anarchy of Norway (AoN) is still going strong.

Although the system by now is significantly anarchist, i.e. within the Quadrant of Anarchism on the economic political map, it is somewhat far from the anarchist ideal on the top of the map. Thus, it is plenty of room for improvement from anarchist perspective, and by no means time for a break in the fight against authoritarian tendencies. The revolution must be fought permanent, in the daily life, to sustain and develop further. However, as long as a) Norway stays out of EU, b) populist and nationalist tendencies are put at place, and c) the left and right tendencies outbalance each other reasonable as by now, Norway will probably stay anarchist, and be a lighthouse for EU and the rest of the world.

Let's work together, on co-operative or individual basis, in media, political and economic organizations, to support the Anarchy of Norway and anarchist tendencies all over the world.

ABOUT AIIS/AIT

The AIIS - *Anarchist International Information Service* at www.anarchy.no , is the main international anarchist news-agency of










today, and it is also engaged in the fight for anarchism world wide. AIIS, named "*Anarkistenes Informasjonstjeneste - AIT*" in Norwegian, was officially founded in 1994 by AIUF, and established on Internet in 1996. In 1997 the AIIS was taken over by the AI/IFA-secretariate in Oslo, that had been doing media and information work all of the time since the founding of AFIN in 1977. The constitution of the Anarchist International AI was officially confirmed on the International Anarchist Congress, i.e. the 5th Anarchist Biennial, arranged by the NAC/IFA/AI in Oslo medio December 1998. At this congress the AIIS was mandated to be the official newsagency of the Anarchist International. The AIIS is industrially and with respect to copyright a co-operative branch of IJ@/fb ISSN 0800-0220.

You are very welcome to read about the history of Norway from 1200 - 2002, and the development of the Anarchy since 1994:

THE HISTORY OF NORWAY AND THE ANARCHY

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
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I. THE PREVIOUS HISTORY

A. INDEPENDENT COUNTRY - VASSAL STATE - BREAKAWAY REVOLUTION, 1200 - 1905, INDEPENDENCE 1906 - 39

The modern history of Norway as an independent country, started with the breakaway revolution from the Union with Sweden, triggered by the 07.06.1905 declaration. This revolution was based on a referendum. Of 435 376 persons who had the right to vote, 85,4 % participated, and only 184 voted for the Union. A civil war was avoided because Norway was well armed, and the Swedish workers threatened with a revolutionary general strike, if the liberation was not accomplished.

Several hundred years ago Norway was also an independent land. A long time ago a democratic tendency with municipal and regional tings, i.e. some kind of more or less direct democratic councils, where all free men or delegates met and decided regulations and regulatory means, made judging and sometimes even deciding ways to elect as well as sack a king, may be mentioned. Thus, an egalitarian as well as libertarian tendency and culture have a long historical tradition in Norway.

However in the meantime, before 1905, Norway was de facto a vassal state, ruled from Sweden, Denmark or Germany (Hansa).

Henrik Wergeland (1808-45) was influenced by the somewhat social individualist libertarian tendencies of those days, writing a.o.t.: "*Hør mig, Despot! Jeg være vil din Pestilents mens jeg er til! Om Nordamerikaneren: Gid rastløse Flid vi af Yankeen lærte! Men ei vil vi have en Dollar til Hjerte. Om Franskmanden. Vi ham taknemmelig maa hylde. Vor Frihed vi Revolutionen skyldte.*" Thus he declared to be a life long plague against tyranny, would not have a US \$ as a heart, and had a sound freedom and revolution on the agenda, inspirited by the French people. He also had ideas similar to Pjotr Kropotkin and later Ragnar Frisch, that a combination of practical work, say gardening, and

theoretical work, was an optimal basis for human development. By the way, Henrik Wergeland was a lawful person using a colorful language, and that he would act as a 'plague to authority' must of course not be interpreted literary, as a defence for biological weapons, spreading illnesses, or something like that.

In 1850 the 22 year old Henrik Ibsen (1828-1906) used the play "Catilina" (1850) to promote the anarchist ideal about fairness and freedom without violence, investigated in a societal context, universally and individually, probably inspired by P. J. Proudhon, according to Max Nettlau and Erik M. Christensen. Works of Proudhon were published in the journal of the early workers' movement, "Thranittene", with Marcus Thrane in the forefront, a man that in 1851 declared that P. J. Proudhon was *vor tids uden tvivl største sjeni*, the "with no doubt greatest genius of our time", although he probably did not understand the genius too well, interpreted it a bit wrong, and partly rejected anarchism. The young Ibsen participated actively in this movement. When later asked why he wrote about Catilina (a nobleman and pretor), Ibsen replied that his, i.e. not the historical, Catilina, *was an anarchist*.

The "Non-State-Theory" of Henrik Ibsen, called so by himself in one of his private letters, *"min fortræffelige stats-teori - eller rettere ikke-stats-teori!"* (quoted from Ibsen's letter to Georg Brandes 18.05.1871, after the fall of the Paris Commune), and revealed in several letters many of them later published in a book called "Breve" (1904), is also a contribution to libertarian ideas, in addition to anarchist elements in his plays and poems. It is also quite clear from the available documents known today, that Ibsen's "Non-State Theory" seen all in all was mainly individualistic, and not liberalistic, and thus Ibsen must be accounted for as a significant individualist anarchist, at least in a part of his grown up life, if not all.

In 1886 Arne Garborg was the first person in Norway who publicly expressed his anarchist point of view in the poem "Anarchist song", published in "Fedraheimen", i.e. "Our Fathers' Home", (according to Jack Wilson in 1968). Arne Garborg, Rasmus Steinsvik and Ivar Mortenson Egnund declared themselves as anarchists in 1887, according to "Fedraheimen", volum 1890, p. 50. "Fedraheimen" got the subtitle "Anarkist-Kommunistisk Organ", and thus became the first Norwegian publicly declared anarchist organ. The last issue of "Fedraheimen" was published in 1991. Mortenson Egnund in 1897-98 published "Fridom, tidsskrift for sjølstyre og sjølvhjelp" (Freedom, journal of autonomy and self-aid). In 1898 Arne Garborg wrote an article "Henrik Ibsen, tuktemeister og byggmeister" stating that Ibsen was an anarchist, and explaining what kind of anarchist he was. Ibsen did not raise objections to this. But he expressed it was wrong to interpret too much politics into his poems and plays, and rejected to be a member of the feminist movement. Thus, following Ibsen himself, we should probably concentrate mostly on his letters and other material, not the plays and poems, when investigating Ibsen's anarchism. Garborg's

article about Henrik Ibsen was later printed in the "For Folkeoplysning - Tidsskrift for boksamlinger og folkeakademier", i.e. "For enlightenment of the people - Journal for public libraries and people-academies" - at Ibsen's 100 years anniversary in 1928, and thus made Ibsen's anarchism well known throughout the country at that time.

In 1891-92 a few Germans, i.e. Theodor Martner, Sigmund Simons and Wilhelm Zöllner, made anarchist propaganda in Christiania (Oslo) and established the anarchist-communistic group "Libertas"(Anarkistisk-Communistisk Gruppe "Libertas"). The Norwegians Christopher Hansteen, Axel Bech, Lorentz Nybø, Petter Nilsen, Rasmus Steinsvik, Sigwald Lian, and Ole O. Lian also joined this group. "Libertas" was the first publicly declared anarchist group in Norway. Hansteen was editor of the paper "Anarkisten". Hans Jæger and Henrik Ibsen may also be accounted for as anarchists, although in some of their works perhaps being more spokesmen for collectivism and individualism, respectively. Say, Max Nettlau mentions Ibsen for "strong individualism" and Folkebladet/IJ@'s brief history of Anarchism in Norway, 1. edition, mentions a clear marxist type dialectical tendency in some of Jæger's works, i.e. not anarchist.

Another referendum in 1905 was about the question of republic. 439 716 persons had the right to vote, 75,3 % participated, and 78,9 % voted for a powerless king, instead of , perhaps, a powerful president. Thus, the symbolic king of Norway was introduced by a referendum.

"Libertas" made an active anarchist campaign both outside and within the new "sosialistiske ungdomslag", socialist youth federations, that started about 1900. In 1903 some of them associated to a national confederation. This youth confederation was however a weak organization, and splitted in three in 1909, according to *Arbeidernes Leksikon*, p. 900. Hansteen died in 1906 and Sigwald Lian in 1909, at that time businessman of the organ of the youth confederation. He contributed to the publishing of anarchist material until he died. The other members continued the work for anarchism and federalism and against centralism and marxism, and Axel Bech in 1925 wrote an article about Hansteen in "Alarm", the syndicalist paper. Also Hans Jæger and Swedish libertarian immigrants and refugees made anarchist information. Jæger's 489 pages work "Anarkiets Bibel" was published in 1906, but the book had both anarchist and marxist type dialectical tendencies, and thus it neither became a "bible" on anarchism nor for anarchists. Jæger died in 1910.

Ole O. Lian in 1903 became the chairman of "Norsk Centralforening for Boktrykkere", and later chairman of *Landsorganisasjonen*, LO, at that time called *Arbeidernes Faglige Landsorganisasjon*, (AFL, established 1899) the national confederation of the workers, i.e. in 1906-1925. LO was at that time strongly federalist syndicalistic influenced, based on labor federations with great autonomy, i.e. "*fagforeningene.... hvis tradisjoner var sterkt syndikalisisk preget, med stor selvstendighet for de enkelte avdelinger*", according to *Arbeidernes Leksikon* p. 907

(abridged edition by PAX , the publishing house of the Norwegian Socialist Left Party, SV, 1977).

Lian tried to achieve a broad based workers movement and a moderate federalist approach, and to avoid centralist, marxist, tendencies as well as other authoritarian tendencies, say, he was against "ministersocialism". Lian's faction also used negotiations and diplomacy within the movement to achieve their aims. In this way his federalist faction, among other things, contributed to

a) integrate the half syndicalist "Fagopposisjonen av 1911" in the Labor Party, with the ideologically somewhat diffuse, but quite revolutionary "dynamite man", "*dynamitt i borehullene*" - Martin Tranmæl, in front, in a relatively moderate federalist direction. "Fagopposisjonen" had several tendencies, some stood close to syndicalism, others were followers of Kautsky, some were Leninists, and others ideologically diffuse or mixed, just representing a more radical new generation. First Lian's faction worked against Tranmæl's, but ca 1918, when Tranmæls faction was getting the majority in the Labor Party, Lian's used negotiations with "Fagopposisjonen" in co-operation with LO, to try to avoid the worst authoritarian tendencies and keep the movement together, and

b) to get the Labor Party out of "Komintern", the 3rd International ruled from Moscow, as soon as possible after a majority of the party had decided to join this international in 1919. This aim was achieved when the Labor Party left "Komintern" in 1923, and the communists left made their own party, NKP. Martin T. in this context made the so called "Tranmælsvingen", a political swing from semi-libertarian, towards more authoritarian marxism closer to Leninism, and then somewhat back again, to be about 1/3 syndicalist and a collectivist.

It is later revealed that Martin Tranmæl and Trygve Lie, later justice councillor in a Labor Party state council, were on the payroll of the Moscow Communists in 1920, receiving 10 000 and 7000 NOK respectively. It is possible this could have influenced Lie's decision to deport Leon Trotsky from Norway in 1936. "Interessant er det at Moskva begynte å pumpe penger inn i Norge allerede i 1920. Det året mottok Martin Tranmæl 10000 kroner - en anselig sum den gang. Trygve Lie mottok 7000 kroner. Man kan spekulere på om redselen for bli avslørt kan ha styrt Trygve Lie da han i 1936 i egenskap av norsk justisminister utviste Leo Trotskij fra Norge. Dette gjorde det lettere for Stalin å likvidere Trotskij i det fjerne Mexico. Det kostet mindre oppmerksomhet enn hva det ville gjort i Norge. Russerne glemte ikke slike bidrag som de ytet Lie i 1920." (Aft.p. 17.02.2002)

The socialdemocrats had formed their own faction of the Labor Party in 1919, their own paper "Arbeiderpolitikken" in 1920, and splitted out to form their own party, NSAP, 1921, after the majority of the Labor Party decided to follow the Leninist Moscow Thesis. Ole O. Lian also worked within the Labor Party (DNA/AP), which in the early 20th century was based on collective membership of the quite autonomous syndicates of LO, and he was member of the central board 1909-18 and 1920-25. But Lian was most active in the LO, that with him as chairman turned into a

major social and political force in the Norwegian society. In 1919 AFL/LO affiliated to the reorganized Amsterdam International (IFC). He also contributed to keep the LO out of the Moscow lead "Red " trade union international in 1923, after a preliminary AFL/LO representation in 1921 participated at the Red Internationals 1st Congress. There was also a discussion within LO about affiliating to the syndicalist international IAA " *den Internasjonale Arbeider-Assosiasjonen*" (AIT-IWA), rooted back to the 1st International and refounded late in December 1922, with a program written by the anarchist Rudolf Rocker, but this proposal did not reach a majority.

In 1909 "Norges Ungsocialistiske Forbund" was founded, a mainly anarchist and syndicalist youth socialistic federation. The syndicalist and youth socialist faction was however not only anarchistical. NUF published the paper "Storm" (1909-1912). "Storm" changed name to "Direkte aksjon" (1912-18), "organ for revolutionær fagbevægelse og ungsocialismen" with a youth socialist and revolutionary trade unionist tendency, and from 1914 with revolutionary trade unionist tendency covering both the semi-syndicalist "Fagopposisjon" and syndicalist tendencies. Two main writers of "D.A." were the Swedish syndicalist Albert Jensen and Martin Tranmæl. Albert Jensen, at that time editor of "D.A.", was arrested in the autumn 1914, and deported to Sweden, but he continued to write for the paper. Albert Jensen in 1917-18 became more and more hostile to the "Soviet"-revolution in Russia, while Tranmæl and "Fagopposisjon" at that time were supporting the Leninists, and it became impossible for the relatively narrow minded Tranmæl's faction to recognize "D.A." as their organ. Probably because of a contract that stated NUF's copyright to the title, "Fagopposisjonen" left the paper, and started their own organ "Solidaritet", in 1918, and "D.A." finished publishing. The syndicalists got their own organ in 1919, when the paper "Alarm" was established. In 1913 the paper "Revolt" started, first published by NUF's local federation in Trondheim and from 1915 moved to Kristiania (Oslo) as organ for the reorganized "Norges Ungsocialistiske Forbund" . NUF had at maximum 22 local federations, i.e "lag".

In 1912-16 "lokale samorganisasjoner", local co-operate syndicalist organizations, were formed, some of them rooted back to "Norsk Stenhuggerforbund" of LO, and others established directly. They affiliated to the Swedish syndicalist confederation, SAC (Sveriges Arbetares Centralorganisation). 28.12.1916 "*Norsk Syndikalistisk Federation*", NSF, the Norwegian syndicalist federation, was established. At first "Direkte Aksjon" published the ideas of NSF. As mentioned, in 1919 the NSF's own organ "Alarm" was established.

NSF was a revolutionary syndicalist organization, with syndicalists and anarchists, anarchosyndicalists included. The syndicalist faction was however not only anarchistical. The paper of NSF, "Alarm", quoted both Karl Marx and Peter Kropotkin on the front page. Thus, from time to time there was a considerable marxist tendency in NSF. The syndicalist guru of the NSF-paper "Alarm", Albert Jensen declared in an article: "...

syndikalismen, ..., er den mest marxistiske av alle de socialistiske retninger." "...syndicalism... is the most marxist of all socialist political tendencies". In the older days however Albert Jensen, probably became an anarchist, i.e. developed a political-economical tendency of a significant degree of anarchy.

The history of anarchism in Norway should also be seen in connection to the general development of anarchism and its methodology, see http://www.anarchy.no/a_e_p_m.html .

Malfred Bergseth was in 1916 member of NSF og NUF. In 1923 NSF affiliated to IAA. NSF's 4th congress in 1924 declared "*Anarkismen og syndikalismen er to bevegelser som står på samme ideologiske grund ... stillingen til anarkismen forsøkes gjort så intim som mulig...*", i.e. syndicalism and anarchism are two movements on the same ideological basis, and the stand vis-à-vis anarchism should be as close as possible. Although the main anarchist theorist at that time, Peter Kropotkin, already in 1913, in the book "Modern science and anarchism", had rejected marxist economics, the labor value and the value added theory, and the dialectical materialism, as clearly non-scientific, NSF continued propagating marxism as well as anarchism, but the majority was probably anarcho-syndicalists and anarchists. Kropotkin's valid and total rejection of marxism should have been well known to NSF, because the mentioned book was published in Swedish as "Anarkism och modern vetenskap" in 1914, and many of the members of NSF had Swedish origin, and the Norwegian federation in general had a close connection to SAC.

Many anarchists and other people worked for the prohibition of distilled spirits. In 1919 it was a referendum on distilled spirits. 1 198 522 had the right to vote, and 61,6 % voted for prohibition. In 1926 it was a referendum on continued prohibition. 1 482 724 had the right to vote, but only 44,3 % voted yes. Thus, the prohibition was finished.

In 1923 "Norges Ungsocialistiske Forbund" was reorganized and renamed "Norges Social-anarkistiske Forbund", NSAF, and thus was the first federation named anarchist, in Norway. The Anarchist Federation published "Revolt", earlier the organ of NUF, and renamed "Fritt Samfund" in 1926.

In 1924 "Føderalistisk Propagandaforbund", FP, was established and worked within LO to promote anarchist ideas. Members of the Anarchist Federation were active in FP and LO. Say, Malfred Bergseth, who was chairman in the district committee of Akershus & Hedemarken agitationdistrict of NSF in 1923, later joined FP and LO. Bergseth was chairman of FP and responsible for "Fritt Samfund", the organ of the Anarchist federation in 1926. He was both anarchist and syndicalist, and chairman in "Oslo Stein-, Jord- og Sementarbeideres forening" 1936-1938, businessmanager 1927-1930, agitator and controller 1929. He became also chairman in "Norsk Bygningsarbeiderforbund", LO. Oscar L. Ottersen was another anarchist militant in 1926. He had been editor of "Direkte Aktion" the syndicalist paper published by NUF, in 1916-18, and member of the editing group earlier. Ottersen later became vice

chairman of the typographer's federation of LO. Waldemar Nielsen was also working in LO. Nils Heggland was editor of the Anarchist Federation's paper, "Fritt Samfund" in 1927-28, and active in FP. He was accountant in FP in 1926, secretary of the Anarchist Federation in 1924, and later active in the Defence Committee for Sacco and Vanzetti, together with Fine Olsen, an anarchist feminist. In 1935 Heggland was elected to chairman of the "Gullsmedarbeiderforbundet", of LO. Also Halvdan Jønsson and Vitalis Andersen declared themselves as anarchists and worked within the LO.

Several people from the Anarchist Federation were members of NSF. The "Kvinnegruppa *Samhold*" with feminist activists as Jenny Tangen, Laura Bredesen, Ruth Blomberg, Louise Sahlin and Sofie Eriksen, may also be mentioned. They were both anarchists and syndicalists.

In 1928 the last issue of the organ of the Anarchist Federation, "Fritt Samfund" was published. The Anarchist Federation was a broad based organization with several tendencies of anarchism, i.e. collectivist, communist and individualist anarchism, social anarchism included, as well as anarchosyndicalists and feminists. A part of it continued as an anarchist and anarchosyndicalist faction within NSF, others continued in LO with anarchist and libertarian federalist ideas, and some worked on individual basis. The NSF took over the publications of the Anarchist Federation, so the anarchist information still continued, without delay. The Anarchist Federation was officially not closed down, but without an organ of their own, they were less visible in the public opinion.

In the 1930s the radical socialist Ragnar Frisch, that later developed to a significant libertarian socialist, proposed a Kropotkinian type "Goods-Exchange-Centrals" planned socialist economy. A main militant and libertarian writer in the 1930-40s was Arnold Hazeland, a former member of the central board of the Labor Party (1899-1904) and later two times nominated as candidate to the Storting, that became a communist anarchist. It was hard for him to break with the Party he had worked for so many years, but the reason was the reactionary tendency towards state-totalitarian direction. He worked as a judge at the Norwegian supreme court, translated anarchist books and wrote articles. Among other things, several translations of Kropotkin's and Bakunin's works and Nestor Machno's book about the revolution in Ukraina 1917-18, with an interesting 34 pages introduction by Hazeland, published by "*Fri Socialismes* " Forlag, Oslo 1933, may be mentioned. He also wrote news articles from anarchist point of view about the Spanish revolution and civil war 1936-39 in "Alarm". The NSF and the anarchists in general supported the CNT-FAI's militia's armed struggle against the fascism in Spain, and they warned about the coming war in Norway several times, but talked for deaf ears. The mainly marxist Labor Party stuck to the "broken gun" pacifist policy, and thus made the country open for the nazi occupation in 1940. Also a marxist faction of NSF had a pacifist tendency. The main stream anarchists point of view was however similar to Kropotkin and the "Manifesto of the 16", related to the 1st WW.

In 1927 DNA/AP and the Socialdemocrats formed "Det forenede norske arbeiderparti", the United Labor Party, which indicated a movement to the right, and this continued over the following years towards a traditional main stream marxian social democrat party, renamed Arbeiderpartiet, AP, that took control over the LO, and gradually, over time, the federalist, anarchist and syndicalist tendency in the national confederation of the workers were reduced. The United Labor Party became the largest party at the Stortings election in 1927, and PM Hornsrud formed the first Norwegian social democrat state council in 1928. This "ministersocialism" that Ole O. Lian in his time fought strongly against, however only lasted three weeks. In the next Stortings election, 1930, the labor parties got relatively few votes, and a light brown populist "Bondeparti", quite reactionary government, took the power. Violent class struggle, especially a battle in 1931 called "Menstadslaget", between the workers and state-police & military forces initiated by Vidkun Quisling, was on the agenda. Several worker militants were arrested and later convicted to prison for a long time. The "hard 30s" with violence, poverty and economic depression were the realities of life. In the next Stortings election, 1933, the Labor Party, promoting a "krise program", was among the winners, and in 1935 formed the second socialdemocrat state council with Nygårdsvold up front. An impotent demand management, and the pacifist policy, made probably more damage than good to the Norwegian system seen all in all, and they mainly didn't manage to change the capitalist system to a socialist either, before the war. The economy improved a bit, but that was not because of sound economical policy from the Labor Party, but mainly due to an export boost to the German war machinery, that the government rather should have boycotted. The marxian socialdemocrat government also joined the pacifist "non-intervention" policy vis-à-vis Spain during the civil war, and going to Spain to support the "Folkefront" (People's front), it's State Council, where the anarchists participated, and join their militia or the other republican forces, was decided criminal, and punished. Several volunteers from Norway and the rest of Scandinavia, syndicalists and anarchists included, went ahead to fight in Spain, despite of this prohibition. The marxist dialectical Janusface of the socialdemocratic regime was shown when Labor Party's Martin Tranmæl joined the celebration of the Norwegian heroes, when the lot of the surviving returned to Oslo 26th November 1938, and called them "*det ypperste uttrykk for internasjonal solidaritet som er skapt i vår tid*", i.e. "the greatest expression of international solidarity created in our time". In practice most of them were abandoned from work and fined. So much for the Labor Party and their government's solidarity! Despite of all this socialdemocratic treason a couple of hundred foreign Peoples' Front veterans from the Spanish civil war participated at the battles around Narvik in the North of Norway in the second world war. That's solidarity! The movements, both of the anarchists and syndicalists, however slowly declined in members and activity, as well as new recruiting. In 1920 NSF

had 47 local federations, in 1937 ca 20. The weekly syndicalist paper "Alarm" lost subscribers, and in the middle of the 1930s became a fortnightly paper. Financial problems were a main obstacle for publishing and other activities. The Anarchist Federation had asked NSF for money, but didn't get any, and NSF asked the Swedish SAC, and got money support several times. The international blows against the libertarian movement in general, say, the execution and justice murder on Sacco and Vanzetti in USA august 23rd 1927, despite large protests world wide, and the fascists' victory in Spain April 1st 1939, also contributed in a negative way, although not breaking the spirit of the anarchist militants.



B. NAZI OCCUPATION 40-45, MARXIST STATE SOCIALISM 46-93

The successful revolution of 1905 indicated more autonomy, i.e. less statism.

However, it took 89 years before the system, after nazism 1940-45 with German and Quisling NS rule, and later many years characterized by marxist state socialism, in 1994 became anarchist.

The Labor Party, AP, in 1945 mainly socialdemocrat, reformist and very state-socialist, with a close to stalinist internal organization, took power, with the patriarch "Landsfaderen" Einar Gerhardsen in front. The old revolutionary Martin Tranmæl's faction was "put in the closet", and LO was mostly directly run from the top by AP. A marxist statesocialist planned economy was introduced by AP taking over the Quisling regimes national socialist centralized state institutions, say, the Price-department/Price police, the nazi-economists with Odd Aukrust in front at the Central Bureau of Statistics, SSB, quickly turned into social democrats, the Finance-department (Treasury) turned into something like a stalinist "Gosplan" office, "five/four" years economical plans set at work, stateowned "corner stone" enterprises were introduced, as well as heavy regulations and rationing in most of the economy. People were poor, and many thousand lived in tents. A massive state-socialist propaganda was introduced, among other things via the state controlled and owned monopoly NRK public broadcasting. Einar Gerhardsen was worshipped quite similar to Stalin, and the inevitable major faults of the centrally planned economy were mostly put under the carpet.

The rich were still rich, several of them "brakke-baroner", i.e. war plutarchs, and although the official figures told about relative income equality, there were very little to share because of the low productivity state-planned economy, and an unofficial "under the table" quasimarket economy developed, and contributed to economical differences not accounted for in the official statistics. But all in all it was in general significant more income equality and solidarity than before the war, and a relatively socialist system in an international perspective. However the system was clearly marxist, and not libertarian socialism. A marxist secret service ochlarchy, with media manipulations and control, as well as a Labor Party "nomenklatura", "*partibok-kameraderi*", soon developed and radicals from communist and left socialists to syndicalists and anarchists were having a hard time.

There was a limited kind of press freedom, wide for the liberalistic and the socialdemocrate statist propaganda, and even the nazi-press were left in peace, but socialists, anarchists included, opposed to the establishment, had a hard time. The secret police and their local police associates had a hand on the media in general. Say, the Culture Syndicate was censored by police command over a liberal local newspaper in the later part of the 1960s, the editor of the paper, embarrassed, as an excuse told an anarchist journalist, that afterwards was denied printing of material opposing the establishment. This was of course only a tip of the iceberg. Say, once a pacifist paper was raided by the secret police. The LO owned "Folkets Hus" was bugged by people associated to the secret police and the Labor Party. Such repression of the press and organizations continued for years and years, say, when the Anarchist Federation was established in 1977, the secretariate got letters from the post office with a message written upon it that it had been opened, and of course read, by the police. The commercial newspapers and journals contributed mostly to a liberalistic criticism, and was perhaps sometimes a danger to the significant marxist system, but rarely in a progressive way.

Some people that opposed the establishment were wrongly put in psychiatric hospitals, and ill treated; the "Juklerød"-case was only the top of the iceberg. Jews that survived holocaust and returned to Norway didn't get their possessions back, war veterans from Spain 1936-39 and the allied forces 1940-45 were ill treated, and ethnic and sexual minorities had a hard time. Thus, the system was clearly based on statism. The economy was growing a bit, first among other things, due to the American Marshall aid, later boosted by the general economic growth in the industrialised countries, but it should be quite clear for all but the worshippers of the "landsfaderen" marxist patriarch Einar Gerhardsen, that the centrally planned economy was an obstacle to optimal growth, and that the economy probably would have been much better if it had been more anarchistically managed. The RED & LIGHT-BROWN years under the marxist socialdemocrat regime, all in all were a large economical-political mistake, nothing to be proud of in the Norwegian history. Almost any other regime above 67% authoritarian deegree could have done better.

There were for short periods center-liberal governments, but they didn't manage to change the main tendency of the system, however contributed sometimes to an autonomy/right tendency. However the system seen all in all moved slowly upwards and to the right on the economical-political map, with several small jibes in different directions. The general tendency was that the state socialist planned economy over time was reduced.

In 1940 "Alarm" had been closed down by the nazis. The editor Carl O. Tangen was put in the prisoncamp "Grini" by the Quisling regime. In 1945 "Alarm" was refounded as "Solidarity", first as a monthly paper, then bi-monthly, and then irregular. Also NSF continued. A memorial note in "Solidarity" about Arnold Hazeland (1859-1945) who died in

November 1945 at the age of 86, told he was promoting anarchist ideas to the last breath: *"Han trodde fullt og fast at diktaturperioden og herosdyrkelsen i arbeiderbevegelsen bare er av forbigående art, og at folket om en tid vil våkne og begynne å tenke med hjernen igjen."* The NSF declined further, however after 1945 it was a less marxist and more anarchist organization. A letter from the Swedish Anarchist Propaganda Federation, APF, the publisher of "Brand", and a note declaring strong connection to Kropotkin, were published soon after the war. The Italian anarchist Umberto Marzocchi was also interviewed in "Solidaritet".

In 1951 "Solidaritet" took a break, but the paper in 1957 was reorganized to "Syndikalistisk organ for Skandinavia, tilsluttet Internasjonal Arbeider-Assosiasjon", i.e. the Scandinavian syndicalist paper associated to IAA/AIT/IWA. This was a broad based organ for revolutionary socialists, syndicalists and anarchists in Scandinavia. SAC left the syndicalist international IAA/AIT/IWA in 1959/60, after years with disagreements. Although this was not unexpected, and a writer in "Solidaritet" expressed that the paper was "En tidning man måste slå vakt om", i.e. a paper to stand by and guard; it was a short lived guard, because the last issue of "Solidaritet" came the same year, i.e. "Solidaritet" stopped publishing in 1960. A handfull of syndicalists, anarchists and anarchosyndicalists continued the organizational work to 1965, but then NSF was practically finished. The marxist and liberalistic media at that time were very hostile against libertarian ideas, wrongly and at large using anarchy, anarchist and anarchism as words for chaos, lawlessness and terrorism, and neglecting real anarchism almost totally. The radical socialist Ragnar Frisch, that in the 1930s proposed a Kropotkinian type "Goods-Exchange-Centrals" planned socialist economy, and in 1942 published a memo on the ecocirc accounting system, featuring -- organization =.the system's costs in addition to labor and capital cost, after the war (he was in jail about two years during the war, arrested by the nazis) started to develop into a significant libertarian socialist. He indicated publicly a "third alternative" social-individualist type anarchism in 1948 in the article "Why objectivity" in Arbeiderbladet. presenting a strong argumentation in favour of applying objectivity and logic in *"the life and death fight for the third alternative: To drag the ordinary citizen into taking responsibility, not only the chief of Secret Service, or the rich one, or the scholar, or the super intellectual. This alternative raises a gigantic problem, of preserving, rejuvenating and creating organs which can really reveal the welfare interests of different interests of the different interest groups and balance them carefully."* In Frisch's work on "Economic Democracy", Bertrand Russell, another libertarian thinker within the third alternative tradition, is mentioned. Frisch is however not referring directly to Russell's *"Roads to Freedom: Socialism, Anarchism, Syndicalism"* (1918-19) and other books with a libertarian tendency in this work.

Ragnar Frisch evolves his libertarian third alternative; *an economical and political system with the individual's freedom and moral and ethical*

dignity in the center, i.e. autonomy combined with a rational, planned socialism -- that is not utopian -- in several works; *The unenlightened plutarchy*, *Integrity and democracy*, *What is democracy?*, *Economic democracy*, *The three stages*, *In the spirit of Henrik Wergeland*, *The upper class mentality is alive*, *Socially orientated or high finance orientated economic planning?* *Planned economy in the community*, *Hour of destiny*, *Gloomy May Day - or hope?* etc. Most of Ragnar Frisch's works may be seen as a general framework related more or less to *the third alternative* of economical political systems, i.e. with neither economical plutarchy nor political statism, - and modelling and mapping of different political economical systems in general. Ragnar Frisch's collected works on political economy broadly defined are the work of a giant, accounting for several thousand pages, along the lines of Pjotr Kropotkin's methodology of libertarian research, i.e. similar to that of the modern natural sciences, see "Modern Science and Anarchism" (1903-13). Frisch's famous note from 1961 on EEC/EU as "*Det uopplyste pengevelde*", "*The Unenlightened Plutarchy*", and also discussing *the third alternative*, may especially be mentioned as an important article. Similar to Kropotkin, Frisch also recommended a combination of mental and physical work, for optimal human development.

Early in the 1960s Helge Kongshaug had tried to establish a syndicalist youth federation, but it didn't work out. In the latest part of the 1960s the Culture Syndicate was established. This syndicate developed to the interim group for the reorganization of the Anarchist Federation. Several short lived groups and federations with more or less libertarian policy were established. Folkebladet was founded in 1971. At first it had both anarchist and other political tendencies, however later, in 1997, it became the organ of the Anarchist Federation. (And it is still going strong, as International Journal of Anarchism, since 1984). The author and teacher Jens Bjørneboe (1920-1976) may be mentioned among the anarchists in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Bjørneboe is called the most important Norwegian poetical writer after Henrik Ibsen. Politically Bjørneboe was early influenced by liberalism and the syndicalist populism and the quasiscientific "*anthroposophy*" of Rudolf Steiner. Later he turned towards bohemian marxism. At the age of 46 years, he declared to be an anarchist. How long this lasted is an open question, but he was big in the media, and although a bit rabulistic contributed to put anarchism once more on the political agenda in Norway.

However, he never contributed to something really new in anarchist theory. But he reminded that there are degrees of anarchism and anarchy, and that anarchism is scientific, based on free matter of fact criticism, scepticism, in short the hypothetical deductive method, as stated by Kropotkin, - and not dogmatics and dialectics as marxism or quasiscientific new-age ideas as the "*anthroposophy*" of Rudolf Steiner, i.e. anarchism is not "*anarchistology*" or "*anarchosophy*" to use the terms of IIFOR. Thus, Bjørneboe probably rejected the marxism and anthroposophy that he earlier was believing in, when he understood that anarchism was scientific, as he stated in 1971, although still using

such ideas metaphorically in his novels and plays. He also expressed that anarchism probably was going to be the most vital political tendency from now on. (See "Politi og Anarki/Police and Anarchy", PAX, Oslo 1972, p. 46, and "Bjørneboes Anarkisme/ Bjørneboe's Anarchism", fb/IJ@ no 1 1981, p. 1-2, quoting "Anarkismen som fremtid/Anarchism as Future" (1969) and "Anarkismen... i dag/Anarchism...Today?", earlier published by PAX).

The first short essay, "Anarchism as Future" (1969) gives a picture of Bjørneboe's conception of anarchism and acknowledges the influence of Kropotkin on his thinking. The second, longer essay entitled "Anarchism...Today?" (1971) develops the ideas of the earlier essay, particularly by setting anarchism in contrast to both capitalism and Marxist-Leninist communism. Although a part of it is outdated because he a bit naive misunderstood, and underestimated the real oclarchical and terroristical content of Maoism, the rest of the essay still stands as a progressive polemic. The followers of Rudolf Steiner have not surprisingly exaggerated his connection to the anthroposophy in his later days in a quite quasiscientifical way, see say the chapter on "anarchism" in Inge S. Kristiansen's book *Jens Bjørneboe og Antroposofien (Jens Bjørneboe and Anthroposophy)*. There are not so much clear cut anarchism in his poetical writings, the plays, novels and poems as many fans of Bjørneboe think, especially not before he declared himself an anarchist and later understood it was scientifical. Even afterwards, Bjørneboe's anarchism is not always easy to identify in his stories, mainly due to chaotic fantasies or retrospective elements related to the liberal, populist and marxist days. His main writings on anarchism are quoted in the 12 pages report called "Bjørneboes anarkisme/Bjørneboe's Anarchism" published by *Folkebladet/ANORG FORLAG (1981)*.

In 1972 it was a referendum about Norwegian membership to the EEC - EF . 2 645 349 had the right to vote, 79,2 % participated and 53,3 % voted no. A vast majority among the anarchists voted no.

The anarchist movement - the trendsetter in the fight for more socialism and autonomy, joined forces and founded the Anarchist Federation of Norway, - *Anarkistføderasjonen i Norge - Anarkistenes Organisasjon*, in September 1977. Among the early affiliates were Arnold Hazeland Jr., at that time a leader at the "*Fri Rettshjelp*" (free legal action support), also a lawyer as his grandfather, the prominent high court judge and probably the most famous anarchist in Norwau until 1945 Arnold Hazeland; a young relative of Christopher Hansteen, relatives of people related to Rasmus Steinsvik, old anarchosyndicalists, and others, i.e. industrial workers, farmers, teachers, cultural workers, lawyers, artists, journalists, students, all kinds of people. The Anarchist Federation formed a junction vis-à-vis the domestic megatrend to the right and upwards on the economical political map in the late nineteen eighties and early nineties, i.e. in the fight for more autonomy and freedom, but against plutarchist (capitalist) tendencies. A fight for less rank and income differences, more efficiency and fairness, and against political/administrative and economical bureaucracy broadly defined, in private and public sector, within the country and internationally.

In 1979 The Anarchist Federation affiliated to the Anarchist International, IFA, The Anarchist Black Cross, ABC; and the Community Action Network, CAN. In 1982 the first IFA Congress in the North was arranged in Oslo by AFIN, constituting the different other Northern IFA-sections, i.e. Swedish, Danish, Finnish, etc. and confirming the Internationals of the different anarchist currents within the framework of the general Anarchist International, i.e. eco-anarchist, anarcho-feminist, -syndicalist, individualist, collectivist, as well as the Internationals of commune/communist Anarchism and social individualist Anarchism, including socialist, federalist and mutualist anarchism; and the libertarian international of teetotalers. Also the International Anarchist Tribunal, IAT, with the Anarchist Arbitration Court, say, suggested by Pjotr Kropotkin already in 1910, the Anarchist Press Tribunal, and other branches was founded at this congress. Several congresses and actions were arranged during the years passing by. Early in the 1980s the Anarchist International University Federation - Anarkistisk Universitetslag, was officially established, and in 1985 the International Institute for Organization Research, IIFOR, the main research institute of the anarchist movement was founded.

The IIFOR, and the research-groups of the Northern IFA-sections in general, joined the FICEDL, the libertarian research network, officially in 1987, however anarchist researchers related to NAC-IFA had also participated on earlier arrangements of the FICEDL network. A. Hompland together with other anarchists started Folkebladet/IJ@ in 1971, and this journal became later the organ of the Anarchist Federation. Since 1984 H. Fagerhus has been the editor of IJ@/Folkebladet. In 1982/83 Folkebladet became the common and main organ of the NAC, the Northern Anarchist Confederation, and in 1984, including IFA-Solidaritet etc, was established as the International Journal of Anarchism. The currents of anarchism mentioned above were also confirmed as sections of the Anarchist International in the Anarchist Manifesto, the program of the Northern sections of IFA, ISBN 82-90468-09-1, see Folkebladet No 4 (1983) and IFA-Solidaritet No 8 (1983). When the Anarchist International world wide was confirmed at the International Anarchist Congresses in 1998 and 2000, these main sections of anarchism were expanded universally.

The researcher P. Johansen said in Dagens Næringsliv (Today's Industrial Life) 08.02.2002 in a retrospective interview that "den gangen hadde Norge en regulert økonomi og nærmest en ettpartistat", i.e. "at that time Norway had a regulated economy and close to a one-party state". The country had a marxian socialdemocratic type a bit socialistical system related to the economical political map; most of the time ruled and dominated strongly by the powerful Labor Party, Arbeiderpartiet (AP), from 1945/6 first clearly authoritarian, later slowly less authoritarian until 1993/4.

II. THE ANARCHIST REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE IN 1994



A. THE DOMESTIC MEGATREND AND THE EU REFERENDUM

28.11.1994 the marxist PM & Co's effort to break the domestic megatrend towards anarchy, by establishing supra-national bureaucracy, was crushed by the EU-referendum. 3 266 064 had the right to vote, 89,0 % participated and 52,2 % voted no. The supra-national Brussels-bureaucracy had to return, the Norwegian system made a revolutionary change, and passed the border to the anarchist quadrant on the EP map. Before the referendum the ruling system virtually and in many ways practically and mentally was "in" the European Union. The only that lacked was de facto the "keys" to the offices... The "NO!" turned the whole thing upside down... The marxist matriarch, called the "Yes to EU Queen" in the newsmedia, and ruling powerful according to this title, de facto abdicated as an arch, kept a low profile in the newsmedia, retired to significant confederal/central administration only, and left the system significant to anarchy rules - OK - in the following time.

After the referendum the CNN (after a little help from the AIT/AIIS) reports: *"an almost perfect society"*, about the Norwegian economic-political system.

The Northern Anarchist Confederation - *Anarkistenes organisasjon i Norden*, expressed the following view:

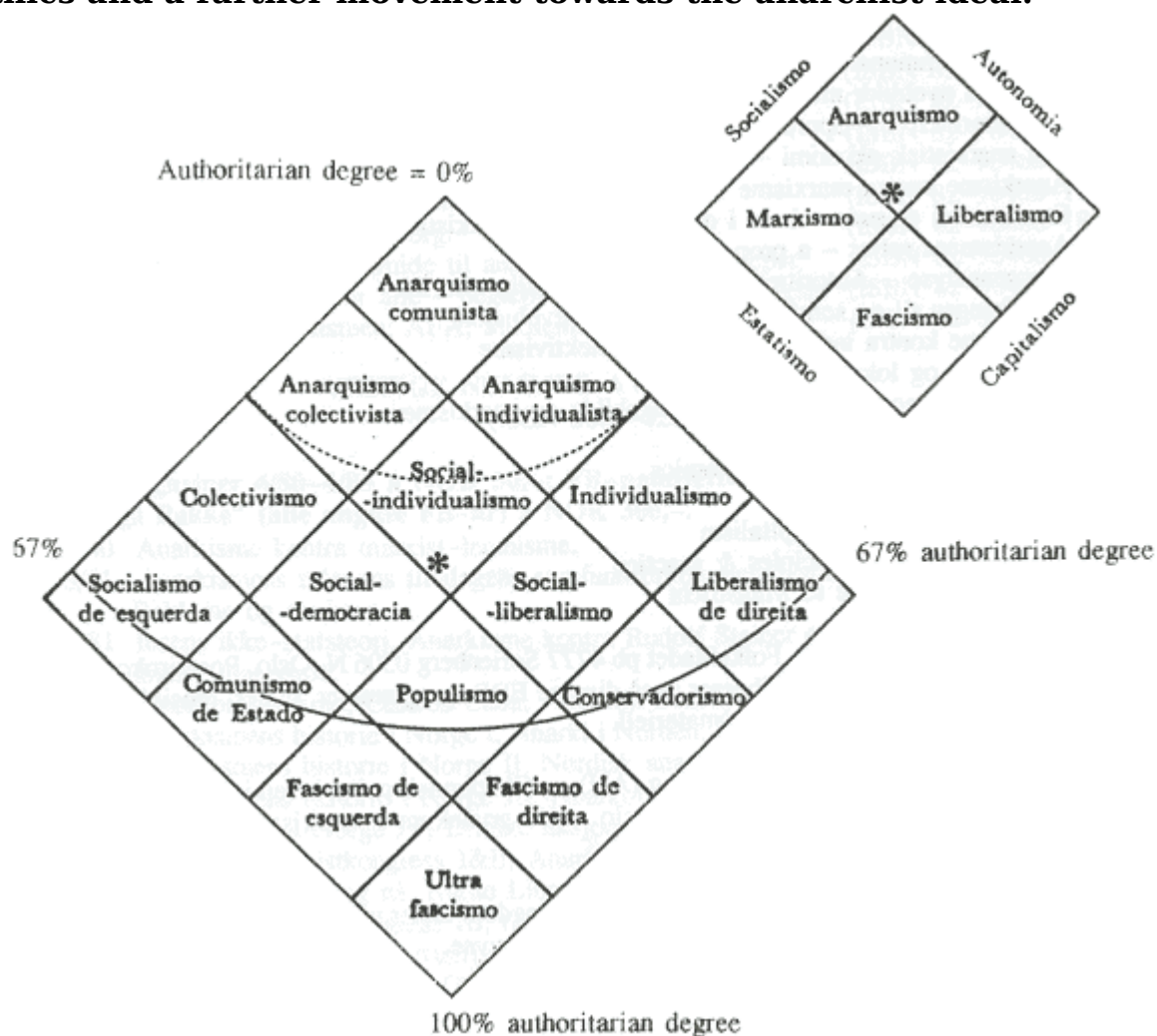
At the EU referendum 28.11.1994, the Norwegian People turned their back against the main economic political course of the social democrat government. While the Norwegian EEC referendum in the early seventies gave a movement to the left on the economic political map, the megatrend of the late eighties and early nineties was a movement to the right and upwards. The EU referendum indicated a further jump in this direction, and thus the economic political system in Norway made a revolutionary change, and passed the border between the marxist social democrat sector and the anarchist sector of social individualism. This of course is a major social event in the economic political world history.

A long jump further rightwards may result in a social liberal system, and a reverse tendency may give a retardation to marxist social democracy, but this is not the case at the moment.

Although the system by now is significantly anarchist, i.e. within the Quadrant of Anarchism on the economic political map, it is somewhat far from the anarchist ideal on the top of the map. Thus, it is plenty of room for improvement from anarchist perspective, and by no means time for a break in the fight against authoritarian tendencies. The revolution must be fought permanent, in the daily life, to sustain and develop further. However, as long as a) Norway stays out of EU, b) populist and nationalist tendencies are put at place, and c) the left and right tendencies outbalance each other reasonable as by now, Norway will probably stay anarchist, and be a lighthouse for EU and the rest of the world.

Let's work together, on co-operative or individual basis, in media, political and economic organizations, to support the Anarchy of Norway and anarchist tendencies all over the world.

After the revolutionary change, the coordinates of the Norwegian social system are ca 55% socialism and ca 52% autonomy on the Economic-political map. Thus, the degree of anarchy is about 53%, and the system is significant anarchist. And thus, the bureaucratic tendency broadly defined, i.e. the tendencies towards economical and political/administrative hierarchy, - plutarchy (capitalism) and statism in different forms, oligarchy, polyarchy and ochlarchy included, - measured by the authoritarian degree, is about 47%. Although not the significant, i.e. the system is clearly more anarchist than authoritarian, it has a considerable bureaucratic tendency, an obstacle against maximal efficiency and fairness, as well as anarchist human rights & ethics and a further movement towards the anarchist ideal.



*) The stars indicate the position of the Norwegian economical-political system after the revolutionary change in 1994/95.

Read more about it at (click on:) <http://www.anarchy.no/ija1994-96.html> .

As mentioned, after the referendum the CNN (after a little help from the AIT/AIIS) reported: *"an almost perfect society"* etc, about the Norwegian economic-political system.

And this was a good thing because a) the bad losers of the EU-referendum, say, the matriarch Gro Harlem Brundtland and Utenriksdepartementet, The Norwegian Foreign Department, sent out

harmful authoritarian propaganda and disinformation, telling Norway was or would be a populist, nationalist, mercantilist, "nisselueland", with a bad economy, on TV etc. internationally, and thus b) the Norwegian exchange rate and prices of shares turned downwards, the interest rate went upwards, and Norway would probably be sent into an economical depression with large unemployment, if not c) Lou Dobbs at CNN and other international newsmedia had reported the truth - that the Norwegian economy was very sound, and the economical political system was sound, and indicated it would probably be more sound, and d) thus the exchange rate went upwards, the value of the shares rised again, and interest rate went down, and thus a hike in the interest rate and a depression with big unemployment were avoided.

Afterwards the Norwegian economy relatively has been one of the strongest in the world, but if Gro Harlem Brundtland and UD had managed to start a bad economical spiral downwards, as they were up to, the Norwegian economy would perhaps never recovered and be as good as it has been over the years passing by since 1994.

"Thanks to Lou, the editors of CNN and other international media supporting AIT and the new anarchist political economical system of Norway in the early days of the revolutionary change. Perhaps we all togheter "changed the world" slightly, slightly, slightly i.e. at least on behalf of Anarchism in Norway and the Norwegian people. It must be clear that the relevant press releases sent by telefax from AIT to CNN etc. before and soon after the EU-referendum, also of course accounted for the friendly replies from Lou Dobbs at CNN and the other international media on the air, via the influence on the economy, probably were worth billions to the Norwegian people a.o.t., in the following years", says A. Quist, the internationally well known anarchofeminist and co-writer of the Anarchofeminist Manifesto of 1982. A brief summary of the most important information and press releases sent from the AIT/AIIS before and after the EU-referendum 1994-95, and the responding of the international newsmedia-giants, was published in IJ@/Fb No 4 (24) 1994, 1 (25) and 2 (25) 1995.

NB! When reading the IJ@/Fb No 4 (24) 1994, 1 (25) and 2 (25) 1995, etc, the text should be interpreted according to the updated research front of anarchism today. Say a.o.t., the concept of the degree of anarchy has been more strictly defined, and is no longer used for systems outside the anarchist quadrant of the Economical-Political map, using instead the authoritarian degree (or the libertarian degree broadly defined, including semilibertarian degree = 100% - the authoritarian degree). The most basic mathematical ecocirc formulas related to the Economical-Political map have of course not been changed, but the words used per definition in this connection have been changed a bit to make it a bit more clear what is anarchist and what is not, i.e. semilibertarian and authoritarian.

The situation during the anarchist revolutionary change was quite dramatic, especially in the days just around the referendum and the following months. IJ@/Fb No 4 (24) reported:

EU-strategien ble i hovedsak lagt i 1988, og pressetaktikken på Anarkistbiennalen i Oslo 1994, det 3. kombinerte IFA-FICEDL kongress-seminaret den 2.11. Og alt har gått over forventning i forhold til planene. Det internasjonale pressekorpsset som samlet seg i Oslo til folkeavstemningen, ble som ventet avspist med JA-propagandaen fra UD's Internasjonale Pressesenter på "Vestbanen" i Oslo. Pressen ante fort at propagandaen ikke stemte helt. UD's materiale samsvarte bl.a dårlig med det en kunne se med egne øyne. Pressen ønsket naturligvis noe mer troverdig - en kontrast til regjeringspropagandaen. Dermed var bordet duket for det anarkistiske alternativet, som kom med korrekt informasjon, i motsetning til Ja-regjeringens desinformasjon. Og så begynte ballen å rulle... Før folkeavstemningen i Sverige sendte vi [bl.a] en melding med overskriften "Sweden and Norway: Say no!".

Mange anarkister deltok også i den generelle NEI til EU folkebevegelsen, IJ@/Fb hadde argumentert aktivt mot EU i flere år, og man hadde kjørt frem disse argumentene i en rekke fora. Ragnar Frischs artikkel om "Det uopplyste pengevelde", med brodd mot EU, ble trykt opp igjen og sirkulerte i økonom-kretser, etc. Det var en kjempemobilisering frem til folkeavstemningen.

I Sverige ble det jo ja-flertall, og i Norge nei. Den internasjonale pressen hadde imidlertid fått et helt feilaktig inntrykk av grunnen til nei-et i Norge, og dette avspeilte seg bl.a i de første nyhetssendingene på CNN, SKY og TV5. Det var da det var på tide å markere seg som et bedre alternativ til UD's Ja-propaganda. Vi sendte til hele det internasjonale nettet, men tar her bare med utgaven til CNN.

To CNN: Please stop spreading desinformation about the Norwegian EU-referendum. There were no significant "Nationalistic" and "Non-internationalistic" arguments in the debate. The main argument goes like this (in academic terms): NORWAY SAYS "NO"! 1. Membership in The European Union represents probably a movement towards more [degree of] statism and capitalism, and thus towards less efficient production, less justice, and larger difference in rank and income, i.e. a movement away from anarchy [NB! this was a situation of an anarchist revolutionary change, the authoritarian tendencies of the marxian matriarchy was crushed, and the Anarchy of Norway was emerging, but was not yet quite stabile] in authoritarian direction. The feminist, environmental and intergenerational perspectives are also included in this analysis. 2. A vast majority among The Anarchists in Norway and Sweden think so, and voted NO at the referendums. 3. The Norwegian and Swedish People in general were advocated to do the same: Vote NO to membership in The European Union at the referendum! 4. In Sweden and Norway the majority of the people voted NO, but the bureaucracy and its ramifications voted yes at large. The larger and shrewder Swedish bureaucracy managed to defeat the people, but the Norwegian did not. Thus [after the anarchist revolutionary change] Norway confirmed its position as a land with relatively high degree of anarchy, and - together with Switzerland [also an anarchist or close to anarchist] country - a lighthouse for the authoritarian European Union.

Og det gikk ikke mange minuttene før CNN endret på reportasjene. Det ble snakket om "the almost perfect society" (= anarki) [Say, Lou Dobbs and other reporters at CNN were clearly responding to the AIT/AIIS press releases] etc, og alt pratet om nasjonalisme og nisselue ble søkk borte. Dessuten ble reportasjen utvidet betraktelig. Dette hadde også en positiv effekt på avisene i USA, og New York børsen. Kronekursen gikk opp og renten ned.

The fight for the velvet anarchist revolution was however not yet over - and it developed into a permanent revolution, it was necessary to crush repeated contrarevolutionary attacks, from the Yes to EU organizations and statist and/or capitalist tendencies in general. Say, soon after the referendum a contrarevolutionary attack from the Yes-ministers - and some private bureaucratic tendencies aiming at plutarchy - tried to stop foreign investment in Norway - and recommended large scale "outflagging/utflagging" for the Norwegian investors as well, and thus stab a dagger in the back of the new, emerging, anarchist system. The aim was probably to start an economical depression, and thus clear the ground for a new EU referendum and perhaps a Yes majority later on, based on a.o.t. the argument "What did we say before the referendum! The political economy in Norway will be bad, if the country doesn't become a member of the European Union". Anyway a call for a new referendum was mentioned in the newsmedia.

Det ble snakket om krise i norsk næringsliv og om kapitalflukt fra Norge, samt investeringer i Sverige, og dette måtte naturligvis også motvirkes. Dermed var det duket for en ny pressemelding [til CNN, SKY-NEWS, TV5, etc, men også til norsk presse], som også ble fulgt opp av den internasjonale pressen, og kronekursen gikk ytterligere opp og renten ned. Dermed var sannheten om Norges relativt gode økonomi festet i den internasjonale opinionen så langt:

Investment in production v.s. bureaucracy: An interesting social experiment takes place in Scandinavia. Two countries, Norway and Sweden, with approximately the same type economic-political system... initially, have chosen different connection to Europe. Sweden has joined The European Union, and Norway has not. A comparative analysis so far shows the following: Sweden will invest approximately 2 billions US \$ next year in net contingent to the EU-bureacracy, i.e. "for a seat in Brussel", while Norway will save about 1 billion \$, which may be used for productive investments. The Swedish are discussing who's going to pay the bill. Perhaps somebody will try to put it indirectly on foreign investment etc. in Sweden, rather than pay it themselves?

This payment, i.e. via more taxes, is a.o.t. just what happened later on. Investigations of the development in unemployment, median and average income, bureaucracy and system cost, and other economical indicators, indicate a relative success for the Anarchy of Norway compared to the EU-bureaucratic Sweden, also seen apart from the net benefits from the oil-industry. The bureaucratic authoritarian rule of the marxian matriarch had kept the Norwegian political-economical system both inefficient and unfair, based on statism: "Gro Harlem Brundtland

har på sin side hatt makta, og hun har visst å bruke den... historien om en politiker-gruppes kamp mot folket... Ei lekse i maktbruk." slo Nationen fast 29.11.1994, i.e. meaning something like Gro Harlem Brundtland had very much had the power and used it in a rather machiavellian way. And this was most likely a very correct observation. The anarchist revolution changed the Norwegian economical political system towards somewhat less authoritarian tendencies, the system moving also bit to the right, passing the border from the marxian social-democrat to the anarchist quadrant on the economical-political map. The grip of the statism of the marxist matriarch loosened, the degree of statism was reduced a few percent in the following time, following the megatrend towards more autonomy. The marxist matriarch stopped being a matriarch, i.e ruler, in real terms, retiring to a passive administrative role. The message to the foreign and domestic investors were:

At the moment it seems like Norway is the most interesting for domestic and foreign investment. Better to invest in a stabil anarchy compared to a growing bureaucratic chaos. Ja-siden la jo ikke inn årene av den grunn, og hver gang det har toppet seg, har vi stått på... og vi har gode relasjoner til f.eks CNN og SKY-NEWS, som et pålitelig alternativt pressebyrå...

And both foreign and domestic realinvestments in Norway continued in a reasonable way, compared to Sweden and the European Union in general.

15.12.1994 the contrarevolutionary tendencies against the new established Anarchy, the bad losers call for a new referendum and trying to sabotage the people's clear No majority -- were halted somewhat for a while when the editor Kåre Valebrokk of the industrial-paper Dagens Næringsliv, in a one page commercial in Aftenposten, the largest non-tabloid Norwegian newspaper, a) with a picture of the internationally well known Norwegian anarchist and play-writer Henrik Ibsen declaring his famous word of wisdom "*Bedst var det, kan hænde, det gik, som det gik...*", and b) himself adding a.o.t. "*Hva var det vi mistet, hva var det vi fikk... Det er nye tider nå.*", indicating it was *after all best* that the result at the referendum was No to the European Union, and not Yes, and that an anarchist economical-political system was established.

The AIT/AIIS press release titled "*Kåre vs Gro*", published 23.12.2002 reported a.o.t. about this, and also a) that the PM Gro Harlem Brundtland had no credibility after telling lies for open TV-screen about the LO's (workers' union) statement against the EU in the main EU-debate program at the NRK-TV, the Norwegian public broadcasting, just before the referendum, Brundtland saying wrongly the LO was *for* the European Union, and that b) it was generally not a good thing for a prime minister to loose self control and telling lies in public, at critical situations, - as she did, however not only this time, but several times mentioned in the newsmedia. The fight against contrarevolutionary tendencies had to continue, and still goes on.... The debates, reflecting

the peoples perspective via the public room, about the European Union and Norwegian politics for the 21st century in general, arranged by Folkebladet - at www.anarchy.no, clearly show that the fight against authoritarian and non-anarchist tendencies is still very much on the agenda in Norway.

The connection between AIT/AIIS and CNN in those years (1994-95) was officially confirmed in a letter from a CNN/Turner official indicating a.o.t. the information from AIT/AIIS was interesting and intelligent. As this is perhaps a political document of some interest we will describe it a bit more. The envelope has the Turner logo and the sender organization's name is "Turner Broadcasting International Limited", addressed to *S. Olsen, Anarkistenes Informasjonstjeneste, c/o F.B. P.B. 4777 Sofienberg N - 0506 Oslo, Norway*. The letter, dated 7 March 1995, says a.o.t. the following: *"Dear S. Olsen, Thank you very much for comments on the network's programming. We appreciate your feedback... We [however] do not have the capacity to reply to each of your faxes in turn. They are very informative but also quite substantial!... Thank you for your cooperation. With best whises, Dale Langley - Press Officer. CNN INTERNATIONAL,"* i.e. at the CNN's London office, UK.

"Well, 'plenty all right - too much no good' as one of our other councillors often says, - anyway we spread the telefaxes from AIT/AIIS on different offices of CNN and other newsmedia to be more co-operative. Our aim of those days a) was not necessarily that CNN, SKY-NEWS, French TV5, EURONEWS, etc., and the large internationally distributed newspapers, say, New York Times, Washington Post, etc, should reply and respond to all of the information we sent, but to have some influence in anarchist direction if possible, b) we sent much about the anarchist economical political system in Norway, anarchism and other -isms, and libertarian policy in general, so the giant international newsmedia could have an alternative to the governments' and tendencies towards authoritarian and authorities' -- propaganda, and a lot of information in the libertarian field of research, - for the newsmediagiants to choose from in a freedomly way.

And our, the AIT/AIIS's, influence via the international media must of course not be exaggerated at all, however when we had a new, good and sound argument in libertarian direction perhaps it had a slight influence indirectly or directly, now and then, on what was sent on the air, i.e. the CNN network's programming and other newsmedia's. But the usual "manufacturing of consent" according to Noam Chomsky's research, where the media are acting more as the 4th power of the State, in societal perspective, than a free press, was in those days, as well as today, clearly the main tendency. There is however possibly a slight development towards more free newsmedia reporting in a libertarian way, say less Brown Card convicts of the International Anarchist Tribunal, over time from 1994 and until now. But this is probably due to a libertarian megatrend, and perhaps not much related to the work of AIT/AIIS" says S. Olsen, spokesperson of AIT/AIIS, reflecting over the

past work of the anarchist newsagency, at the time when the now rather outdated telefax-machines of the AIT/AIIS network were used a lot, and of the replies from the giant international newsmedia:

"I guess David had much more luck against the giant Goliath -- and the militants using the Trojan horse in the old days also --, than we had vis-à-vis the international and domestic newsmedia, but now and then the AIT/AIIS 'underdog' anarchist news agency probably managed to hit the many headed giant international media-troll so it made a slight change of behavior in libertarian direction, i.e. the troll hit the authorities or went against authoritarian tendencies, or (very rare) supported anarchism more directly, especially internationally. But seen all in all, a) the influence of AIT/AIIS news and comments related to the EU-referendum in 1994-95 via the international newsmedia, was probably the most important and direct, b) the influence in general, outside what is reported about case a) in IJ@/Fb No 4 (24) 1994, 1 (25) and 2 (25) 1995, must not be exaggerated, and was probably usually quite marginal if any at all, - however c) a useful network was established and d) AIT/AIIS got a reputation about being a serious anarchist newsagency and source for libertarian information, that still holds good today.

Today, in the days of Internet and e-mails, we have reports about several anarchist journalists in different newsmedia, and the www.anarchy.no and IJ@ etc. get a lot of interesting feedback in general. Anarchy is on the air as never before according to reports, i.e. in a positive way, but anarchism has still not achieved much influence on the media in general, i.e. say, about proportional to having 25% of the area on the economical political map. This may perhaps to some extent be due to problems with the double meaning of the word rule in anglophone languages, meaning both A. "regel = relatively fixed ways to settle things in an orderly way, i.e. regulations and regulatory means" and B. "herske/archein" in Norwegian/Greek, from hersker/archos, i.e. be and/or act as an arch, authoritarian, bestiality. This problem represents an anglophone Orwellian "1984" "newspeak and doublethinking" tendency, as only the meaning B. of the word rule is relevant in anarchist context. AIIS/AIT has however plans of continuing the information work, domestic and internationally, now as the official newsagency of the Anarchist International, and hope for good co-operation with the domestic and international news-mediagiants, both generally and in especially important cases. An aim is over time to increase the percentage 'marketshare' in the meaning of the amount of covering about anarchy and anarchism defined in a libertarian, i.e. realistic - not authoritarian, way, in the media."

III. THE ANARCHIST SYSTEM 1995 - 2000

28.11.1995 marked one year of anarchy in Norway. The coordinates of the system have not changed significantly. Thus, the anarchist revolution is permanent, and the fight against authoritarian elements is working well.



A. GOODBYE TO THE MARXIST MATRIARCHY - CREATION OF WORKERS' COUNCILS

The marxist *landsmøder* PM Gro Harlem Brundtland, i.e. matriarch of the Labor Party (*Arbeiderpartiet* - AP), had been the big loser of the EU-referendum.

In october 1996 the PM Gro Harlem Brundtland was replaced by Thorbjørn Jagland, from the same party, AP.

In november 1996 the planning councillor for the PM Jagland's "House of Norway", Terje Rød-Larsen, a former UN-architect of the PLO-state, met his "Watergate" because of a corrupt tendency, the Fideco case, and resigned (27.11.1996), and a possible stronger marxist bureaucratic power tendency at the council of the central administration, was avoided.

Together with the national confederation of the workers (*Landsorganisasjonen*, LO), Jagland introduced workers' councils, to make the system more democratic. However the lot of them were marxist co-operate councils, initiated from the top of the Labor Party and LO, and they didn't last long, see more information at the [Norwegian Anarchist Council](#) . The most of this council movement collapsed after the commune elections in 1999, however the anarchist council was still going strong in 2002.



B. THE STORTING, ALLEMANNSRETT, CO-OPERATIVES AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS

According to the constitution, a king is the government of Norway, but he is a symbolic king without real power, and thus not a government or monarch in real terms. However a *council, chosen among the people*, formally by the king, may a) sometimes be powerful and act as a government, say, if selected from a majority party at the *Storting*, and b) sometimes not be powerful, and thus act more like a managerial, administrative organ of confederal type. That is the council may be more horizontally than vertically organized and thus not be government, or the opposite, and thus be government.

Other important institutions of the Norwegian 53% anarchist system, however not without bureaucratic tendencies (47% authoritarian), are, say: The national confederation of the workers (*Landsorganisasjonen*, LO), of the industry (*Næringslivets Hovedorganisasjon*, NHO) and the communes (*Kommunenes Sentralforbund*, KS), the large co-operative movement and the *allmannsrett*, the media and the *Storting*, a mixed kind of senate and house of representatives, or the Swiss Confederation's Bundesrat and Nationalrat, i.e. a parliament or congress with Lagting and Odelsting. A close connection to the Anarchy of the oceans, through a large merchant fleet, may also be mentioned.

The elections to the *Storting* are every fourth year. The *Storting* has 165 *mandater*, mainly from 19 *fylkescommunes*. The *mandater*, i.e. persons, who are elected to the *Storting* are fixed geographically in the following way:

| | | | | |
|-----------------------|------|--------------------------|----------|-------|
| 8 | from | Østfold | (18), | |
| 15 | from | Oslo | (1), | |
| 12 | from | Akershus | (22), | |
| 8 | from | Hedmark | (22), | |
| 7 | from | Oppland | (26), | |
| 7 | from | Buskerud | (21), | |
| 7 | from | Vestfold | (15), | |
| 6 | from | Telemark | (18), | |
| 4 | from | Aust-Agder | (15), | |
| 5 | from | Vest-Agder | (15), | |
| 10 | from | Rogaland | (26), | |
| 15 | from | Hordaland, Bergen | included | (34); |
| 5 | from | Sogn og Fjordane | (26), | |
| 10 | from | Møre og Romsdal | (38), | |
| 10 | from | Sør-Trøndelag, Trondheim | included | (25); |
| 6 | from | Nord-Trøndelag | (24), | |
| 12 | from | Nordland | (45), | |
| 6 | from | Troms | (25), | and |
| 4 from Finnmark (19). | | | | |

The remaining 8 persons are *utjevningsmandater*, elected to achieve a greater degree of proportionality. To achieve *utjevningsmandater* a party must have at least 4% of the total number of votes (*sperregrensen*). Thus, the amount of delegates to the Storting from the relevant different geographical areas as listed above, i.e. of the *fylkescommunes* (a kind of geographically large cantons, but with much less autonomy than the cantons in the Swiss Confederation), is fixed figures, given in advance of the elections, - and thus is not dependent on the election results in the different the areas/fylkescommunes (with exception of the 8 *utjevningsmandater*). Thus the system of delegation to the Norwegian central/federal/confederal council, the Storting, is based on the *fylkescommunes* in a fixed way, rather than the population and the election results, in itself a slight commune anarchist tendency supporting geographical decentralization of the influence on the central/federal/confederal administration. This also implicates that, say, a Same living in Finnmark has much greater influence per vote on the Storting, than a bureaucrat living in Oslo.

The figures in brackets are the number of local communes, municipalities, within each *fylkes-commune*. The total number of local communes were 435 in year 2000. All of the communes are organized in the National Confederation of the Communes - *Kommunenes Sentralforbund*, dealing with common matters, and also is the employers' federation for people working for the communes.

In 1996, 1 426 837 persons were organized in the confederations of the workers' and in 1999, 1 485 065. The largest of the workers' confederations is *Landsorganisasjonen*, with 811 423 members in 1996, and 828 431 in 1999.

After the anarchist revolution of 1994, the *Storting* de facto mainly has been performing like a confederal council with delegates, not

authoritarian representatives, from the 19 *fylkes*communes, and with practically no parliamentarism.

Generally speaking, the system is not significantly authoritarian. The council at the central administration, sometimes referred to as *the people's council*, the *king's council*, the *state council (STACO)* or *Council of State*, and even the constitutionally wrong term "government", dependent on the situation, is for the time being not a government, in the meaning of vertically organized. The term "state" is here the public sector for general purposes throughout the country, and does not mean "state" as vertically organized, i.e. based on statism, say, as the present PLO-state of Arafat. The Norwegian constitution is referring to the *"king's council, elected among the people"* and *"the State Council, i.e. Council of State"*, and *principally no government except the powerless symbolic king, a person with de facto less power than the almost powerless Swiss president.*

Another branch of the anarchist system is *Norges Anarkistråd (NA)*, the [Norwegian Anarchist Council \(NACO\)](#) , founded medio December 1996.

The co-operative movement in Norway counts altogether more than 1,4 million memberships. Compared to the total number of households, 1,8 million, this is an impressive figure. The importance of the co-operative model, both in terms of memberships and economic activity and results, is most clearly shown in agriculture, fishing, housing and in the consumer sector. In addition, there are a lot of small co-operative societies producing goods or services for income purposes or for the benefit of the infrastructure of local communities - i.e. mainly associations for the marketing of handicrafts or hunting and fishing rights, as well as local water supply societies, irrigation societies and drainage societies. The ANARCOOP bookshop distributing the IJA and other material, is an example of the small co-operatives. Thus, social individualist anarchist mutualism is a widespread activity in Norway.



C. THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE

In December 1996 the Nobel Peace Prize went to East-Timor, a repressed country which in a long time has been on the agenda of anarchists, say, Noam Chomsky, the Northern Anarchist Confederation (NAC), and others. The Nobel Prizes are a series of annual awards provided for by a large fund, in the will of Alfred B. Nobel, the inventor of the dynamite. While the academic Nobel Prizes are Swedish, the political and antimilitarist Peace Prize is decided by a committee selected by the Norwegian Storting. This committee is quite autonomous. Some foreigners think the prize is decided by the state council, but that is not true. The first peace prize was given to Jean Henry Dunant, from the Swiss Confederation, in 1901. The German Carl Von Ossietzky, who won the prize in 1935, and the American Martin Luther King Jr. in 1964, may also be mentioned.



D. THE DECLINE OF THE MARXIST SECRET SERVICE OCHLARCY

May Day 1996 a giant rat statue with bugging device headphones on the ears had been placed by an anarchist a.o. direct action group, at

Youngstorget, Oslo, i.e. at the headquarters of LO, AP the Labor party and the populist FrP... Medio December a reorganization of the secret services kick-started with one councillor of Jagland's cabinet, Grete Faremo, and Hans Olav Østgaard, the chief of the secret police, POT, resigning from their jobs.

The next day a Norwegian Red Cross hospital in Tchechenia was attacked by terrorists, probably muslim hierarchists armed with weapons similar to the Russian "Speznas" special forces. Six persons were killed, among them two Norwegians. Friday 20.12.1996 the Norwegian Anarchist Council (NACO) and the WSC-IFA expressed *the deepest condolences with the relatives of the victims, and a humanitarian protest against violence, war and madness.*

A political process of historical dimensions was going on in Norway 1996/97. Stortinget and the people were discussing the Lund commission's report about the secret services doings, criminal or not, over a half century. Also the Anarchist Federation was mentioned as an object for investigation by the Secret Policy, in the Lund report, and as indicated above - this was hardly news to the anarchists... However, the Lund report represented only a tip of the iceberg, i.e. tendencies of secret services ochlarchy (mob rule), from authoritarian groups and political parties.

Ultimo December 1996 the Norwegian Anarchist Council wished the Storting & Co luck with the *"reorganization of the secret services, i.e. more in the service of the people, the anarchists included, and not the bureaucracy!"* Stortingets kontrollutvalg for de hemmelige tjenestene, i.e. the control commission for the secret services, was an organ for the reorganization. This commission's coordinator Per N. Hagen of the Centerparty, from Tynset, a town with an anarchist museum, had an important task.

January 1997 the Anarchist Council added: *"The secret services should do what they are supposed to do, and not everything else! It would be interesting for the people to see not only their own files, but the files of the secret services agents, to control their activities, i.e. in the long run! The tendencies of Orwell's "1984" police state, with a mix of authoritarian groups & political parties and the secret services, rooted back from the days of the marxist system, must be stopped in an orderly way!"*



E. AN OPTIMISTIC POINT OF VIEW

The [AIT new year report about Norway 1996/97](#) was optimistic, and also realistic.

In October 1997, Jagland's council at the central administration, was replaced by a *"no-government"*, i.e. no to EU, with *Senterpartiet, Kristelig Folkeparti* and *Venstre*, and Kjell Magne Bondevik as PM. The NACO and the WSC-IFA wished a happy new year 1998, and reminded of the Libertarian Association of Teetotallers direct action. After a couple of years, a less marxist Labor Party state council, co-operating more towards the middle - replaced the "no to EU" council. The system has

moved a little to the right, but not very significant. Thus, the society is still about 53% anarchist.

IV. THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE ANARCHY IN 2001-5

A. THE TAMPA CASE

In August 2001 Norway was once again in the headlines of the international newsmedia. Monday 03.09.2001 more than 400 mainly Afghan asylum seekers were on their way to Papua New Guinea on an Australian troop carrier after the Australian Government stuck to its authoritarian refusal to let them into the country. The group spent eight days stranded on the Norwegian freighter Tampa before being transferred to the HMAS Manoora. The refugees were transported towards New Zealand and Nauru, where their asylum claims should be assessed. The Norwegian Anarchist Council criticized the plan for dealing with the asylum seekers, saying it was not acceptable under international law. It said the best solution would have been to allow them ashore immediately, on Christmas Island, rather than make them endure more time at sea. More information about this event at [The Tampa case](#) .

B. THE STORTINGS ELECTION

The *Stortings* election Monday 12th of September had a moderate interest in the Northern and international media.

The Anarchist Federation of Norway - Anarkistføderasjonen i Norge, did not participate in the election, but pointed to the distance between the present society at ca 53% degree of anarchy, and the 100% anarchist ideal, i.e. defined by 100% socialism and autonomy, minimal economical and political/administrative rank differences, maximal efficiency and fairness, and the other anarchist principles, i.e. the IFA-principles, the Oslo convention and anarchist human rights, etc. They used the anarchist economical - political map to strategic positioning.

Another organization, *Folkebevegelsen for valgboikott av RV, Fr.p og andre autoritære* with some anarchists and other people, founded in 1997 - also had a campaign. They advocated boycott of RV, the Maoist and Trotskyite election alliance, Fr.P - the populist right party, and other authoritarians, at the election. The situation was discussed in International Journal of Anarchism no 2 (31): [Before the Stortings election in Norway 2001](#) .

The election was a political earthquake. The big loser was AP. It had not done such a bad election since 1924. This only confirmed that the days of the marxist social democratic system definitively were over, and that the social individualist anarchist system was still going strong. The Labor Party has lost the grip on the concept of social equalization including freedom, i.e. less rank and income differences broadly defined. AP lacks a vision of the anarchist ideal, and the road ahead; i.e. although moved a little to the right, still advocating marxist social democracy, statism and even tendencies of state capitalism. The

participation in the election was about 72%, i.e. 5% less than in 1997. This indicates an increasingly dissatisfaction with the present system, and the need for even more anarchist management of the society.

The mandates were:

| | | | |
|-----------|--------|-----------------------------|---------------|
| Left | - | Venstre..... | (2,-4), |
| Center | - | Senterpartiet..... | (10,-1), |
| Coast | - | Kystpartiet..... | (1,+0), |
| Socialist | Left | - Sosialistisk Venstreparti | (23,+14), |
| Christian | people | - Kristelig Folkeparti |(22,-3), |
| Right | - | Høyre..... | (38,+15), |
| Labor | - | Arbeiderpartiet..... | (43,-22), |
| RV | - Rød | Valgallianse |(0.-0), |
| Fr.P | - | Fremskrittspartiet | (26,+1), |

for the parties placed on the progressive vs reactionary axis, i.e. from the top to the bottom of the economical-political map. The +,- figures are changes of mandates since the previous election in 1997. Except for the most authoritarian parties - RV and Fr.p, all the parties are in reality close to the middle of the economical political map, although ideologically and verbally very different. The no to EU mandates were increased, and is by now 95. 60 of the 165 mandates were women.

The situation with no dominating big party at the Storting was something new, and the Norwegian Anarchist Council expressed: *This is a case of more practical horizontal organization at the Storting, and it calls for even more co-operation without coercion. Authoritarian tendencies towards chaos, ochlarchy (mob rule) and the right to the strongest, economically and/or political/administrative, must be rejected. The fight for even more socialism and autonomy, social equalization including freedom, i.e. less income and rank differences, must continue.*

The spokesman Lars Sponheim of Venstre, the Left party, confirmed the anarchist analysis of the rankings among the parties along the progressive vs reactionary axis on the economical-political map, by declaring *Venstre er det mest radikale partiet i norsk politikk*, i.e. the *Left is the most radical party in Norwegian politics*; see Dagbladet Tuesday 25.09.2001.

After a temporarily brake in the negotiations, Venstre, Kr.F. and Høyre decided to form a *samarbeidsstatsråd*, co-operate state council, with Kjell Magne Bondevik as PM, i.e. a progressive-right council at the central administration. While Venstre is the most progressive party in Norway, Kr.F. has "one foot in the left side and one foot in the right side" (VG Wednesday 03.10.2001), and both are No to EU, the less progressive Høyre is typically to the right and Yes to EU. Thus, they will have to co-operate quite well if they want to stay in office, and it is difficult to see exactly what the policy will be. Whether this council will contribute to a progressive tendency in society, or just a further movement to the right, is an open question. It may achieve a majority in the Storting by co-operating with the Socialist Left, with Labor or the populist Fr.p. Friday 19.10.2001 the state council (STACO) was taken

over by the co-operate comrades. The situation was analysed in International Journal of Anarchism no 3 (31): [After the Stortings election in Norway 2001 - NACO fights the co-operate comrades](#) .

The Stortings election in 2005 gave 87 mandates to the red and green alliance and 82 mandates to the other parties. The red and green alliance formed a new council of state in October backed by the majority of the mandates.



C. THE TERRORIST PROBLEM

11.09.2001 The IAT wrote to the international newsmedia: *The International Anarchist Tribunal (IAT) has investigated the terrorism in New York and Washington 11.09.2001... We denounce these authoritarian doings. If anyone would like to discuss this matter with the international anarchist movement, please write an e-mail to ifa@anarchy.no.* Then it was a conference and discussion internationally among anarchists and others about terrorism in this case, and generally. The International Anarchist Tribunal had also something to say about the Taleban and al-Qaeda network: Read all about it in [International Journal of Anarchism 4 \(31\)](#). The Northern Anarchist Confederation - Anarkistenes organisasjon i Norden - the WSC-IFA and the Norwegian Anarchist Council (NACO), expressed *the deepest condolences with the relatives of the victims and the American people.*



D. THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE 100 YEARS - T. HEYERDAHL IN MEMORIAN

12.10.2001 the Nobel Institute in Oslo declares that the secretary general Kofi Annan and the UN will get this years Peace Prize. This year is the 100th anniversary of the Nobel Peace Prize. NACO congratulates Kofi Annan and the UN.


OSLO, 03.12.2001: Some of the world's leading proponents for peace in the 20th century have gathered to formulate how to make the world a safer place in the 21st. More than 30 Nobel Peace Prize laureates are in Oslo for a three-day symposium marking the 100th anniversary of the prize. "*We will discuss international terrorism but we will really focus on even deeper issues,*" a spokesman of the Norwegian Nobel Institute, told Reuters. "*We will be analysing what went wrong in the 20th century but more importantly we will be looking at how we can do better in the 21st century.*"

Among those taking part are South Korean President Kim Dae-jung, former Polish President Lech Walesa, Tibetan leader the Dalai Lama, ex-South African President F.W. de Klerk, Northern Irish politicians John Hume and David Trimble and Jewish author Elie Wiesel. But the meeting, which opened on Monday, is taking place in the shadow of heightened violence in the Middle East and Afghanistan. As a result, Palestinian President Yasser Arafat and Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, the 1994 winners with assassinated Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin - are unlikely to attend, reports the CNN. However Peres has said he will come anyway. Among the attenders was also East

Timorese freedom fighter and acting Foreign Minister José Ramos-Horta.

The symposium is part of celebrations leading up to the award of the centenary Nobel Peace Prize to the United Nations and Secretary-General Kofi Annan in Oslo on December 10. The laureates, meeting in a hotel on the fringes of the Norwegian capital, will aim to look at ways to avert totalitarianism, bolster democracy and human rights and promote arms control. They are likely to make an appeal for the release of Burmese opposition democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi, who has been held under house arrest in Burma since before she won the 1991 prize. The spokesman said that the focus of the peace prize had changed since the first award with a stronger focus on human rights. *"We want to have a better organised world, we want to strengthen human rights, we want to alleviate human suffering, we want to have more arms control and disarmament,"* he said. In the coming century *"we may want to look at new elements, the connection between the environment and peace, maybe even the connection between news reporting and peace, but basically we will be addressing the same issues."*

This may perhaps be a useful supplement to the ongoing Conference on Terrorism, arranged by the Anarchist International and NAC. NACO expressed: *"We wish the delegates at the Nobel symposium and the international newsmedia welcome, a) to the Anarchy of Norway, and b) to study the summary of the International Conference on Terrorism 2001 and the History of the Anarchy of Norway."* The Nobel Symposium's main subject was "conflicts of the 20th century and the solutions for the 21st century": Session 1: War and peace in the 20th century: the over-all balance - how can we do better? Session 2: Totalitarianism and ideological conflict - help spread democracy and human rights. Session 3: Ethnic conflict, racism and hatred - end discrimination and protect minority rights, and Session 4: Economic exploitation and inequalities - fight famine, promote sustainable development. Lots were said, but not so much new, compared to the anarchist conference. The prize winners disagreed over Afghanistan. Except for Eli Wiesel and José Ramos-Horta, the prize winners demonstrated quite little insight in the problem. The press reports were minimal in general.

However CNN-TV had a live coverage from the symposium, but the CNN-Internet reported nothing from the discussions, but mentions the Nobel Peace Prize winners have paid tribute to democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi and urged the Myanmar government to release the fellow laureate. At the Nobel Peace Prize ceremony on Saturday 08.12.2001, 24 laureates wrote a letter to Myanmar's ruling junta appealing for the release of Suu Kyi and hundreds of "political prisoners". NACO supports this resolution. The awarded since the beginning are listed at . Shimon Peres didn't show up. Perhaps Peres got cold feet because he was put on trial by the IAT, for falsely putting the blame of the terrorism on anarchists. The IAT worked faster than expected, and the verdict was that Peres got the Brown Card 10. 12. 2001, (see IJ@ nr 4(31). Kofi Annan got his prize, and in the evening there was a dinner at *Grand*

Hotel with representants of the upper classes. Dagsavisen 11.12.2001 writes 8 000-10 000 persons were expected to a peace support demonstration for Kofi Annan, but only ca 1000 participated. Perhaps most of the people don't want be associated with the mainly marxist "peace movement" initiated by among others Johan Galtung, also called the "mad peace professor" with reference to VG 10.12.2001 "*Galt, galere, Galtung*" and AFIN 10.11.2001 "*Hvor "Gal" -"Tung" kan denne professoren bli?*" ("gal" = crazy, mad), together with PDS, the followers of the DDR-Stalinists. 06.05.2002 - Pro-democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi is freed after 19 months of house arrest, Associated Press report the Myanmar government is saying.

19.04.2002: THE AIE AND NAC/AI EXPRESS THE DEEPEST CONDOLENCES WITH THE RELATIVES AND FRIENDS OF THE LATE "KON-TIKI" T. HEYERDAHL, BUT HE IS PERHAPS OVERESTIMATED AS A RESEARCHER - A BIT OF A FOGARCH ... ALTHOUGH VERY FAMOUS IN NORWAY AND INTERNATIONALLY.

The extent of Thor Heyerdahl's international fame became clear in the first hours after his death as expressions of grief and tributes appeared in news columns around the globe. Germany's Der Spiegel Online called Heyerdahl "one of the greatest explorers of the 20th century" while the BBC's web site announced that "Heyerdahl will be forever remembered as the Kon-Tiki man". Heyerdahl's daring expeditions as well as his often controversial archaeological theories are covered in detail in the international news. Although his ideas often conflicted with accepted knowledge, the BBC observed that "his pioneering spirit and continuing quest for understanding endeared him to millions". News wire Reuters also spotlighted Heyerdahl's often testy relationship with academia, which viewed him as a kind of Indian Jones, an impressive and flamboyant free spirit without sufficient evidence for his claims.

Reuters remembers Heyerdahl's comeback to his detractors as well: "If you are a scientist you don't go on a balsa raft. If you are a scientist you sit and quote each other." The *South China Morning Post* described Heyerdahl as the "man who did what everyone thought impossible". Heyerdahl was a Norwegian icon, and arguably her most famous citizen for the past half century. He was also noted for his environmental protests about the polluting of the oceans. Heyerdahl's last book packed as controversial a punch as his youthful work, arguing that the Viking god Odin could have been modeled on a king in southern Russia who lived about 2,000 years ago. Heyerdahl remained impressively active until his final days, lecturing and working on his latest theories even after a major cancer operation last year. Asked for advice on how to stay youthful, he said: "Never retire." Norway's PM of the state council, Kjell Magne Bondevik, has promised a state funeral for Heyerdahl. On Friday Thor Heyerdahl's daughter-in-law Grethe Heyerdahl told the Norwegian news agency NTB that the ceremony would take place in Oslo. His urn will be placed at his beloved home in Colla Micheri in northern Italy.

11.10.2002: Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter has won the Nobel Peace Prize for 2002, the chairman of the Nobel Committee in Oslo has announced. The AIE congratulates the old peace-worker, remembering a.o.t. the Camp-David agreement:

Congratulations with the Nobel Peace Prize Jimmy Carter.

Former American president Jimmy Carter's international peacework is now rewarded with the Nobel Peace Prize, and this is probably well deserved. It is however said that the chairman of the Nobel Peace Prize Committee, Gunnar Berge, also wanted to kick the new American president George W. Bush a bit on the leg, by this choice, probably to try to turn the Americans towards a policy more within the framework of the general anti-terrorist coalition. BBC's summary of Jimmy Carter's speech at the Nobel Prize event in Oslo today, 10.12.2002, also indicates this. In another report BBC mentions "State & Chaos" policy, and this should in general be avoided by all States as much as possible, especially by the United States of America as a part of the anti-terrorist coalition. We welcome the Americans back as a central part of the anti-terrorist coalition on rather equal footing as others. The world seemingly has no superpower in the meaning of arch-State anymore, and that is probably a good thing. Let's all work together on equal footing to do away with as much as possible of the terrorist-problem, i.e. all against Saddam Hussein, al-Qaeda and other terrorists.

Nobel Peace Prize 2003 - Congratulations from the anarchists.

Iranian activist Shirin Ebadi has won the 2003 Nobel Peace Prize for her focus on human rights, especially on the struggle to improve the status of women and children. Ebadi, one of Iran's first female judges before being forced to stand down after the Islamic revolution, said she hoped the award could bring change in her country. She is the first Iranian to receive the honor since it was first awarded in 1901 and the 11th woman. The reaction in Norway's Muslim community was joyous after the news that Shirin Ebadi had received the Nobel Peace Prize for 2003. The spokesperson for the Anarchafeminist International expressed congratulations and expected the award would have largely positive repercussions. On behalf of the Anarchy of Norway and the Anarchist International in general, the Anarchist International Embassy sent a note with congratulations at the Nobel Prize event in Oslo 10.12.2003.

Nobel Peace Prize 2004 - Congratulations from the anarchists

Kenyan environmental activist wins Peace Prize. The Norwegian committee charged with awarding the Nobel Peace Prize surprised almost everyone Friday, bypassing the favorites to honor a Kenyan environmental activist. Wangari Maathai is the first African woman to win the Peace Prize, and was clearly elated. The spokesperson for the Anarchafeminist International expressed congratulations and expected the award would have largely positive repercussions.

Nobel Peace Prize 2005 - Congratulations from the anarchists

The Norwegian Nobel Peace Prize committee announced Friday 07.10.2005 that the 2005 award would be shared between the IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency) and its director general, Mohamed ElBaradei. The Anarchist International congratulates ElBaradei and IAEA with the prize.



E. OIL PRICE AND ANARCHY

22.11.2001: Oil prices rose Thursday in London after Norway agreed to cut oil production by 100,000 to 200,000 barrels a day in response to pressure from OPEC, which is attempting to stem a steep slide in world prices. The reduction will take effect Jan. 1, provided that members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries fulfill their previous pledges to cut production and other nonmembers do their part as well, said Norwegian oil and energy state councillor Einar Steensnæs. The cut would be made from estimated production of 3.2 million barrels a day from Norway's offshore oil fields next year, Steensnæs said. Brent crude futures for January delivery rose \$1.18 to \$19.91 a barrel Thursday, \$3 over Monday's two-year lows.

OPEC agreed last week to slash 1.5 million barrels per day (bpd) from its oil export quotas from Jan. 1 - its fourth cut in a year - only if rival exporters Russia, Mexico, Norway and Oman chipped in with a 500,000 bpd reduction. OPEC Secretary-General Ali Rodriguez said he was confident of achieving a deal with non-OPEC exporters to cut global oil supply. "I am confident of an agreement," Rodriguez said, adding that the 11-member cartel would await an official response from other producers before triggering another wave of OPEC cuts.

If a deal goes ahead, OPEC's Rodriguez expected prices to reach the lower end of OPEC's preferred \$22-\$28 per barrel band, from \$17.44 on Wednesday. While Steensnæs would not name a specific target for what Norway thinks the oil price should be, he said OPEC's price band target "is not sensible at the moment." So far, Mexico has promised a cut of 100,000 barrels on the condition that OPEC comply with its promise Jan. 1, and Oman could help out with 25,000 barrels. Russia, which recently passed Norway to become the world's second-largest oil exporter, has only committed itself to a symbolic cut of 30,000 barrels, a small portion of its total production of 7 million barrels a day.

"It is very important that Russia follow up efficiently," Norway's Steensnæs told reporters, adding that he would be in contact with officials in that country by Friday. The vice president of Russia's largest oil company, LUKOIL, said Thursday the government was likely to cut oil output to support the market. "We think the government will take a decision to cut output in volumes enough to stabilize the market," Leonid Fedun was quoted by Interfax news agency. LUKOIL and other producers would meet the government Friday for further talks about possible cuts in output or exports of crude. Mikhail Khodorkovsky, the head of Russia's second-largest oil company, YUKOS, said he believed a decision to suit both OPEC and independent producers could be found. NACO supports the oil and energy councillor in this case. Although affluence is neither a sufficient, nor a necessary condition for anarchism, it is clearly more easy to keep up the Anarchy of Norway, and develope it further, with a relatively high oilprice than without: "Post Scarcity Anarchism".

06.12.2001: The Russians and Mexicans have decided to cut export by 150 000 and 100 000 bpd. respectively, and thus the aim to cut ca 2 000 000 bpd. may perhaps be within reach. The oil price hiked to 20 US \$ p.b. 17.12.2001: The Norwegian state council decided to cut oil production 150 000 bpd from 01.01.2002. 04.01.2002: The other countries and Norway have cut production significantly, and the oil price hiked to ca 21 US \$ p.b. The trouble in the Mid East in April-May 2002 contributed to hike the oil-price to more than 25 US \$ p.b. Medio December 2002 OPEC decided to use regulatory means to keep the crude oil price at 25 US \$ p.b. according to DW-TV and other international newsmedia. 27.10.2003 the Nort Sea Brent crude oil spot price was at 29 US \$ p.b. according to OILNERGY.

The IIFOR in general recommends a crude oilprice between about 20 - 30 US \$ for 2002-3 and 20,5 - 30,75 US \$ for 2004 as fair and efficient, taking into account a.o.t. the environmental factors, say, carbondioxide pollution, and the intergenerational perspective, i.e. the welfare of the future generations from a scarce exhaustible important resource. The IIFOR's general recommendation of the optimal crude oilprice will be adjusted for inflation, technological change including development of alternative energy resources, discovering of new oil and natural gas fields, etc.



F. CONCLUSION

Some time has passed on since the Norwegian People turned their back against the main economic political course of the social democrat government, at the 1994 EU referendum. The megatrend of the late eighties and early nineties was a movement to the right and upwards on the Economical Political Map. The EU referendum indicated a further jump in this direction, and thus the economic political system in Norway made a revolutionary change, and passed the border between the marxist social democrat sector and the anarchist sector of social individualism. This of course is a major social event in the economic political world history.

A long jump further rightwards may result in a social liberal system, and a reverse tendency may give a retardation to marxist social democracy, but this is not the case at the moment. The system has moved a little to the right, but not very significant. The first half year of 2002 confirms this tendency.

Thus, so far the Norwegian economic-political system has not changed significantly in the distance from the top of the economic-political map. And thus, the Anarchy of Norway is still going strong.

Although the system is significantly anarchist, i.e. within the Quadrant of Anarchism on the economic political map, it is somewhat far from the anarchist ideal on the top of the map. "So this is heaven: Norway", the LA-TIMES in USA reports about Norway, November 2001, but this is however a bit exaggerated; see <http://www.anarchy.no/report1.html> , where the article is quoted, with comments from IIFOR added. Another American article on the situation in Norway, quoted from NY-TIMES January 2002, also with comments from IIFOR, is also included.

In June 2002 a libertarian direct action against the World Bank's reactionary policy and the ABCDE-meeting, in Oslo, once more confirmed that anarchy is significant on in Norway, see <http://www.anarchy.no/abcde.html> . An investigation later in 2002 indicated a slight movement to the right on the economical-political map and about 54% degree of anarchy, compared to the situation in 1994-95 with about 53% anarchism. Norwegian firms are more and more horizontally organized, according to Nordhaug and Gooderham at NHH (Dagsavisen 15 & 16.10.2004).

So called heaven or not, 54% anarchism is far from the 100% anarchist ideal. Thus, it is plenty of room for improvement from anarchist perspective, and by no means time for a break in the fight against authoritarian tendencies. The revolution must be fought permanent, in the daily life, to sustain and develop further. However, as long as a) Norway stays out of EU, b) populist and nationalist tendencies are put at place, and c) the left and right tendencies outbalance each other reasonable as by now, Norway will probably stay anarchist, and be a lighthouse for EU and the rest of the world. In 2005 Norway is celebrating its 100th anniversary as a sovereign nation.[Source: FB-IJ@ 4(24), 1-4(25), 1-3(26), AIT - AIIS].

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Welcome

to

the

= IIFOR = INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR ORGANIZATION RESEARCH

L'IFOR - institut de recherche sur le mouvement anarchiste

Institutt for organisasjonsforskning IFO

International Journal of Organization Research

Bulletin of IIFOR and AI. Refer to IJOR for scientific use and IJ@ for political

- Introduction
- Political Economy & Systems
- The Formulas of Systems
- General Theory of Economics
- Industrial Organization
- The AI University Federation



- The History of LI-AI-IFA-IAF
- 1st of May - The history
- The Oslo Convention
- The Int. Libertarian Tribunal
- The Libertarian International
- Libertarian in Nordic language

Création de l'I.F.O.R. en Norvège

The foundation of IIFOR , etc., a.o.t. joining FICEDL and AIUF . With updated Scandinavian and English notes.

Le Monde Libertaire - info.internationales - no

591 JEUDI 31 OCTOBRE 1985:

L'I.F.O.R. (institut de recherche sur le mouvement anarchiste) a été créé comme la résultante d'une décision unanime de la N.I.F.A (secrétariat nordique de l'I.F.A.) et de la Fédération anarchiste universitaire* le 15 août 1985 à Oslo. L'origine de ce projet s'inspire des principes de l'Internationale des fédérations anarchistes et du manifeste de l'A.N.O.R.G. **

Ce nouvel institut se situe dans la lignée du travail sur le "projet de recherches économique et sociale" mené par un groupe de l'A.N.O.R.G. (fédération anarchiste nordique). Les travaux de ce projet ont été largement diffusés dans le monde, notamment lors de sa présentation à la Rencontre internationale de Venise en 1984*** et lors de sa parution dans l'hebdomadaire "Le Monde Libertaire".****

La finalité de l'I.F.O.R. vise à étudier tous les types de rapports humains et l'organisation sociale dans son sens large. L'accent sera plus particulièrement mis sur l'analyse des conditions économiques, politiques, sociales et culturelles considérées dans une perspective dynamique et historique. L'organisation anarchiste constitue bien évidemment un thème majeur de la recherche de cet institut.

L'I.F.O.R. effectue également des recherches dans les secteurs de la documentation, de l'information et de l'éducation. L'institut publie un "Bulletin international de recherche sur l'organisation" [International Journal of Organization Research IJOR] et le "Séminaire d'économie politique"***** organise des cours d'étude à l'université et dans les grandes écoles, en collaboration étroite avec d'autres secteurs de l'A.N.O.R.G., tel le N.I.F.A., "Folkebladet" (journal de l'A.N.O.R.G.), les éditions de l'A.N.O.R.G...

L'adresse de l'I.F.O.R. est la suivante: International institute for organization research, c/o "Folkebladet" , P.O. Box 117, Ankertorget, 0133 Oslo, Norvège.

[NB! This adress is not working anymore. Updated adress is IIFOR P.b. 4777 Sofienberg N-0506 Oslo, Norway]

The AI-IFA-IAF- secretariate in Oslo and the Anarkistisk Universitetslag AU - The Anarchist International University Federation AIUF. ** NAC - The Northern Anarchist Confederation. * The international anarchist conference, i.e. gathering, in Venice September 1984, and more precise in Italian: Settembre 1984, incontro internazionale anarchico Venezia '84 e convegno di studi «Tendenze autoritarie e tensioni libertarie nelle società contemporanee», arranged by "Centro Studi Libertari" of Milano. At this conference it was also an interesting discussion between a Norwegian delegate and Murray Bookchin, now recorded in the IIFOR archives.*

***** The journal of the French Anarchist Federation - FAF; - later some more of the research results were presented at a similar international conference in Portugal 1987, "TECNOLOGIA E LIBERDADE", published 1988 in a book edited by "CIRCULO DE ESTUDOS NENO VASCO" named after the Portuguese anarchist and journalist Gregório Nazianzeno Moreira de Queirós e Vasconcelos, by Editoria Sementeira. Some of the*

updated results on this project are presented at the links "Political Economy and Systems", "The Formulas of Systems", "The General theory of Economics", and "Industrial Organization", see links above. These links deal mainly with theory. A praxeological and historical approach is also found among the links. At the conference in Portugal, mainly the delegation from Norway and the Italian delegation, decided to work for a more firm international anarchist research organization, known as the FICEDL. IIFOR and NAC joined the FICEDL, as the Northern sections. The FICEDL is the International federation of centers for libertarian studies and documentation, "la Fédération internationale des centres d'étude et de documentation libertaires", a loose network of research centers on the libertarian matters broadly defined. At the Portugal-meeting in 1987 a spokesman for the Italian delegation declared that the FICEDL-network "is the real anarchist international" to the Norwegian delegates and the other affiliates present. Because anarchism is definitively scientific, this is correct, but the AI is also more. Anarchism is also about politics, and thus the Anarchist International of today is a wider organization than the FICEDL-network, including other sections as the Anarchist International University Federation, the Anarchafeminist International, green/eco-anarchists, anarcho-syndicalists, affiliations to CAN and ABC, and federations/sections for collectivist and communist/commune anarchism; social-, social-individualist and federalist anarchism, as well as individualist and mutualist anarchism, IFA-federations, etc. Several researchers have been involved in the work of IIFOR throughout the years. Some of the old folks have died, others have left for working on other fields of research. Today's staff is relatively new, with P. Johansen, who joined the institute in 1994 as Nestor and main spokesman. Johansen has contributed to give IIFOR a more macroeconomic approach.

***** Økonomisk-Politisk Seminar ØPS/Economical-Political Seminar EPS. - IIFOR is also the coordinating center of the Northern Anarchist Confederation's studies and documentation on anarchism. The main archive of the NAC/IFA/AI and correspondence to other organizations, institutions and individuals, is coordinated by IIFOR. Other material is located at Arbeiderbevegelsens arkiv og bibliotek i Oslo, and at institutions at the link-page of ARBARKIV, among them the IISG/IISH in Amsterdam may be mentioned. These documents are free available to the general public. IIFOR will also be helpful with copies of other documents, to people interested in anarchism, available to production and distribution costs. To reach Arbeiderbevegelsens arkiv og bibliotek, click here: ARBARKIV . Also other branches of the FICEDL-network broadly defined, have NAC/IFA/AI material. IIFOR is also co-operating with the Norwegian Central Bureau of Statistics, Statistisk Sentralbyrå - SSB; there is a dialog on theoretical matters and SSB contributes with statistical material to IIFOR. To reach Statistisk Sentralbyrå, click here: BYRÅET .

In Norway the words "organization", "federation" and "confederation" traditionally are used quite synonymous. As an example LO, Landsorganisasjonen, directly translated to English/American, "The Country Organization", calls itself "Labors' Organization" and the Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions, while ARBARKIV has called it the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions. It is quite similar with the Northern Anarchist Confederation, calling itself also "Northern Anarchist Federation" and Anarkistenes Organisasjon i Norden, etc. North, Northern and Nordic are also used quite synonymously. AIIS has sometimes called LO the "National Confederation of the Workers", which is also a translation compatible with the tradition. Furthermore the words "anarchist", "anarchists", "anarchy" and "anarchism" on the one hand, and "libertarian" on the other, are used synonymously. The word libertarian in English/American is mainly seen as a translation of the French word "libertaire" meaning anarchist.

The term "libertarian" in English/American may however be interpreted as a somewhat wider concept than anarchist, anarchy and anarchism, also including semilibertarian marxism to the left and semilibertarian liberalism to the right on the economical-political map, and the libertarian degree as 100% - the authoritarian degree, the relative distance from the top of the economical political map. The so called libertarian economics related to the Austrian, Chicago and Neoclassical Schools, making Friedrich von Hayek and Milton Friedman its gurus, is mainly semilibertarian liberalism, rightist, and not libertarian i.e. anarchist, economics. Libertarian = anarchist economics are typically found in the middle of the economical political map and upwards, not rightist or leftist. Gurus of the semilibertarian left are Daniel Cohn Bendit and Anton Pannekoek. Neither of these gurus to the right and left on the economical political map are anarchists. They are semilibertarian liberals vs marxists.

The term "libertarian" may also be used about 1. one who holds to free will, 2. one who maintains the principles of liberty, particularly in thought and conduct, 3. one who advocates full civil liberties for the individual, 4. An adherent of libertarianism, i.e. the public sector/state is subordinate to the individual: Anarchism = real democracy or semilibertarian democracy.

Links

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Welcome to the

Anarchist International University Federation AIUF

Anarkistisk Universitetslag AU

- Introduction
- Economical-Political Map
- The Oslo Convention
- Anarchist Press Tribunal
- The Anarchist International
- The AI youth federation



- Anarchism in Norway
- 1st of May - The history
- Anarchy in Nordic language
- The formula of anarchism
- The research institute IIFOR
- A basic course of Anarchism

Anarchy and anarchism mean "system and management without ruler(s),

i.e. co-operation without repression, tyranny and slavery".

ABOUT AIUF/AU

This is the official website of the Anarchist International University Federation (AIUF), affiliated to the Northern Anarchist Confederation (NAC) and the Anarchist International (AI, IFA/IAF). The affiliated groups and persons are academicians and students world wide. The web-master /moderator of the AIUF web-page is the local federation at the University of Oslo - Universitas Osloensis. A junction in the university federation is the International Institute for Organization Research (IIFOR), also affiliated to the FICEDL. The FICEDL is the International federation of centers for libertarian studies and documentation, "la Fédération internationale des centres d'étude et de documentation libertaires." The FICEDL-network *broadly defined* is a loose network of contacts that includes all research personell and groups participating on the International Anarchist Research Conferences and gatherings since the early 1980s. Via the links at

IIFOR's homepage, you may study a summary of the updated research front on anarchism. If you have problems with this work, you may contact AIUF/AU for help via e-mail. Click on <http://www.anarchy.no/course1.html> for more information about the basic course on anarchism and other -isms. AIUF/AU has a branch for youths, click on <http://www.anarchy.no/ifay.html> to see the homepage of the anarchist kids.

A.U - Anarkistisk Universitetslag er en internasjonal føderasjon av studenter og ferdigutdannede akademikere. AU er tilsluttet ANORG, ANarkistenes ORGanisasjon i Norden, som igjen er tilsluttet Anarkistinternasjonalen, AI/IFA, Internasjonalen til Føderasjonene av Anarkister. AUs web-side redigeres av den lokale A.U.-føderasjonen i Oslo, herunder Anarkistenes Studentorganisasjon (for nye og tidligere studenter) ved Universitetet i Oslo. Et knutepunkt for aktiviteten er Institutt for Organisasjonsforskning (IIFOR), som også er tilknyttet FICEDL nettverket, føderasjonen av sentra for frihetlige studier og dokumentasjon.

A.U. i Oslo har møte hver 14. dag. A.U. har tatt initiativet til Økonomisk-politisk seminar (ØPS) som holder til på rom 331 i Eilert Sundts hus. Det tas forbehold om endringer, se oppslag. Siste nyheter fra AU på internett finner du ved å trykke her: [*Nytt fra Anarkistisk Universitetslag*](#).

Via "linkene" på IIFORs hjemmeside kan du studere et sammendrag av den oppdaterte forskningsfronten angående anarkismen. Har du problemer med å få taket på lærestoffet, så kan du få hjelp av A.U. via e-mail. Trykk på <http://www.anarchy.no/course1.html> for mer informasjon om grunnkurset i anarkisme og andre -ismer. AU har en egen organisasjon for ungdom og barn, trykk på <http://www.anarchy.no/ifay.html> for å se anarkistungdommens hjemmeside.

Contact AIUF/AU - Click here!

Contact IIFOR - Click here!

NB! Morsom aktuell artikkel om Anarkistisk Universitetslag fra Universitas 26 (56) 2002

"Akademiske anarkister - Anonyme anarkister" med kommentarer:

<http://www.anarchy.no/univers1.html>

Artikkelen og kommentarene på linken over belyser konflikten mellom den vitenskapelig funderte politologi inkluderte anarkisme, og den autoritære, psevdovitenskapelige propagandaen som presenteres ved UiOs Institutt for statsvitenskap for tiden, som presenterer feilaktige forestillinger om anarki, anarkistisk, anarkister, anarkisme og det libertære, dvs statsviterne ved UiO serverer et autoritært eller psevdolibertært vrengebilde av anarkismen. Artikkelen påviser statsviternes, usaklige, uakademiske og uvitenskapelig feil på

forskningsfeltet, og presenterer et sammendrag av anarkismen på en vitenskapelig holdbar måte.

IJ@

International Journal of Anarchism

... er, som det eneste norske akademiske tidsskriftet av internasjonal betydning listet opp sammen med en rekke andre velrenommerte og ditto interessante fagtidsskrifter

med ulik profil vis-à-vis det økonomisk-politiske kartet, på den anerkjente

US OSWEGO STATE UNIVERSITY OF
NEW YORK's

tverrfaglig samfunnsvitenskapelig orienterte liste over

Economic Journals on the Web

<http://www.oswego.edu/~economic/journals.htm>

... og på

THE CITIZEN'S LAW - ECONOMIC
JOURNALS

<http://www.lawresearchservices.com/firms/admin/cpa-econ-journals.htm>

... og på
Samfunnsøkonomenes Forenings offisielle hjemmeside
www.samfunnsokonomene.no

VI OPPFORDER ALLE STUDENTER OG ANSATTE VED
UNIVERSITETER OG HØGSKOLER TIL Å FØLGE MED I IJ@ OG DE
MEST SENTRALE ØVRIGE INTERNASJONALE TIDSSKRIFTENE PÅ
INTERNETT FOR Å FÅ SOLID BAKGRUNN FOR EGNE MENINGER

Links

You are visitor No. **365608** since July 1996

Welcome to the

BASIC COURSE OF ANARCHISM

AND OTHER -ISMS

Basic course in economical-political systems - Grunnkurs i
økonomisk-politiske systemer

arranged by the Economical-Political Seminar - Økonomisk-politisk
seminar ØPS - in cooperation with the

**Anarchist International University
Federation AIUF**
and the

**INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR
ORGANIZATION RESEARCH**

- Introduction
- Economical-
political map
- The formula of
anarchism
- The Anarchist
International
- The research
institute IIFOR
- The AIUF



- Anarchy in
Nordic
language
- Anarchism in
Norway
- 1st of May -
The history
- The Oslo
Convention
- Anarchist
press tribunal
- The IFAY

**BASIC COURSE IN ANARCHY/ANARCHISM,
LIBERALISM, POPULISM/FASCISM AND
MARXISM**

KJAPT KURS I ANARKI/ANARKISME, LIBERALISME, POPULISME/FASCISME OG MARXISME

I. For a brief definition of anarchy and anarchism in English/American and Norwegian respectively as a start, click on the links above

a) "Introduction" plus read the summary at the top of the page "Economical-political map", the chapter 'Anarchism defined' at "The Anarchist International" and <http://www.anarchy.no/concepts.html> , -

b) "Anarchy in Nordic Language", <http://www.anarchy.no/begreper.html> and <http://www.anarchy.no/veien1.html> .

II. In 1903-1913 Peter Kropotkin wrote his probably most important book, "Modern Science and Anarchism", "Anarkism och modern vetenskap", see <http://www.anarchy.no/kropot1.html> , defining **anarchy** and **anarchism** mainly as an updated research front based on valid social science. Today the research front on **anarchy and anarchism** based on the non-dogmatic, non-dialectical scientific method of Kropotkin is updated by IIFOR, in co-operation with the FICEDL-network broadly defined and the AU-AIUF, etc.

We know you as well educated, but not 100% updated on the research front of anarchism, anarchosyndicalism and anarchafeminism, and ecoanarchism included, see <http://www.anarchy.no/iwwai.html> , <http://www.anarchy.no/iaf.html> and

<http://www.anarchy.no/green.html> . Thus, we will give you a free offer to A) study a summary of this front via www.anarchy.no and B) discuss it for feedback and even further improvement of anarchist research. The summary of the updated research front on anarchism is presented at the following html-files,

1. The system theory of anarchist political economy and social organization research and the economic-political map, at http://www.anarchy.no/a_e_p_m.html and mathematically at <http://www.anarchy.no/formula.html>

2. The economic-political sociology and industrial organization research, including anarchist class-analysis, especially autogestion, at <http://www.anarchy.no/klasse.html> and

3. The general theory of anarchist economics at <http://www.anarchy.no/aneco1.html> , as well as

4. The praxeological research referred in International Journal of Organization Research, see <http://www.anarchy.no/iifor.html> , <http://www.anarchy.no/folkebladet.html> and the most of the rest of the <http://www.anarchy.no> files.

5. Valuable additional information about the concept of anarchy and anarchism on the one hand, and what is not on the other, is found at <http://www.anarchy.no/iat.html>, see the International and the Nordic branches.

This is as mentioned just a summary of the research of the International Institute For Organization Research at URL <http://www.anarchy.no/iifor.html> . See also the history of one of the most anarchistical countries in the world today at http://www.anarchy.no/a_nor.html .

These pages have several words that are well known to highly educated people. However people at large are educated, but perhaps not highly enough? If you want to see the definition of a word or phrase used in this context, try first to search in the mentioned html-files. Secondly, if you want more information, try the anarchist search engine powered by Google at www.anarchy.no . Third, if you have problems with understanding words that are not defined at the AIIS web-pages, try, say, (click on) <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/>

If you, after doing the best to understand, still have problems learning the material, click on <http://www.anarchy.no/au.html> for help. If you have questions about the research and/or want more results, click on <http://www.anarchy.no/iifor.html> .

Anarchy, anarchism and the different tendencies are a.o.t. based on dialog, and free - matter of fact - criticism. To achieve this, it is necessary to understand what it is all about. A minimum basic knowledge to be taken seriously in a debate on anarchy, anarchist(s), anarchism, libertarian, etc. is probably the material at the above mentioned links, i.e. a brief summary of the updated research front on anarchism. Good luck with the studies, analysis, discussion and feedback.

"Do not expect me to provide you with a system. My system is Progress, that is to say the need to work constantly toward discovering the unknown while the past is being exhausted." P. J. Proudhon wrote in a letter of December 1851. This does not mean anarchism is without system, it is a whole set of systems related to the economical political map and the updated research front of anarchism. This means we, Proudhon, IIFOR and other anarchists, will 1. not provide you with a fixed, dogmatic system once and for all. 2. You are invited to improve the research front of anarchist systems while learning. 3. "Proudhon's system" at that time, as well as today's updated research front of anarchism, is a front of Progress: The research front, using the scientific method of the natural sciences, is all of the time developing and improved as an accumulated capital of knowledge, consistent and with small -- and sometimes large --

breakthroughs and revolutions, in a progressive way. Join in to improve the research front while learning and feel free to send a comment to IIFOR, use the e-mailform to IIFOR below.

As a test to indicate your knowledge of the updated research front of anarchy and anarchism you may try to fill out the form and answering the questions at <http://www.anarchy.no/real.html>:

"WHAT ARE YOUR MAIN POLITICAL AIMS?" NB! YOU MAY ALSO ANALYSE THE PRESENT, PAST AND/OR FUTURE ECONOMICAL POLITICAL SYSTEM OF YOUR COUNTRY OR ANOTHER ORGANIZATION BY ANSWERING THE QUESTIONS IN A RELEVANT WAY.

Anarchist

greetings

from

P.

Johansen

Research fellow at IIFOR

Contact AIUF/AU - Click here!

Contact IIFOR - Click here!

Links

You are visitor No. **365614** since July 1996

Welcome to the

**International Federation of
Anarchist Youth IFAY
Juventudes Libertarias JL
Føderasjonen av Anarkistisk Ungdom FAU**

- [Introduction](#)
- [Economical-Political Map](#)
- [The Formula of Anarchism](#)
- [The Oslo Convention](#)
- [Anarchist Press Tribunal](#)
- [The Anarchist International](#)



- [The History of AI](#)
- [Anarchism in Norway](#)
- [1st of May - The History](#)
- [Anarchy in Nordic language](#)
- [The AI University Federation](#)
- [The AI Research Institute](#)

ABOUT IFAY

This is the official web-site of the International Federation of Anarchist Youth (IFAY), the youth organization of the Anarchist International University Federation (AIUF), affiliated to the Northern Anarchist Confederation (NAC) and the Anarchist International (AI, IFA/IAF). The affiliated groups and persons are anarchist youths world wide, mainly high school pupils, in general people too young to be college or university students. The IFAY is a branch of the university federation and the members have the same rights and duties as the college and university students. Click on the link to the AI University Federation above for more information. Look for the anarchist kid flag (see above) on Internet for groups connected to the IFAY/JL/FAU network broadly defined.

Warning: Some marxist, commie groups are falsely posing as

anarchist kids on the net etc, to make kids 'the "useful" idiots of Lenin', with purpose of using them, say, as "sturm-abteilungen" in a lot of "anti-actions", making social chaos and later call for strong rule by the Commie Party and "workers' councils" similar to the one big Soviet Union. "Soviet" means "workers' council" in Russian. There are several such groups, using some anarchist words of wisdom and anarchist youth flags and symbols to get credibility, but always mixing it up with marxian ideas, i.e. council communism, marxist-lubbeism, marxist-leninism, maoism, trotskyism, leftism, "autonomous" or similar. Thus, it is easy to see what groups are anarchist and what are marxian falsely posing as anarchists.

If there is a mix of anarchism and marxism, it is contradictional and chaotic marxism, and thus in reality marxian - not anarchism. These mentioned false "anarchist" groups are of course not members of the IFAY/FAU, as marxism and anarchism are non-compatible and contradictions. Marxian groups are found in the marxist quadrant on the economical polical map, i.e. to the left. Anarchist groups are found within the quadrant of anarchism on the map, i.e. in the middle and on the top, not far left or right (click on the link to the economical-political map above, for more information). Anarchism is based on social science, marxism is based on powerplay and pseudoscience. A simple analogy may illustrate the difference: Anarchism and marxism is like fire and water. If fire is mixed with water, the fire disappears. If the fire gives sufficient heath to boil the water real hot, it evaporates. *Anarchism is not only science, it is also the fire of love for life based on humanity, freedom, equality, solidarity and other anarchist principles.*

Also some populist, nihilist, neonazi, fascist and rightist groups have been posing as "anarchist" youth without being so, but this is less frequent. Say, "anarchist black hammer", "nihilist assault anarchist", "national anarchist" and "black bloc" groups, with fascistoid elements, have appeared, i.e. significant authoritarian.

[Contact IFAY/FAU? - Click here!](#)

[URL: http://www.anarchy.no/ifay.html](http://www.anarchy.no/ifay.html)

Links

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